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WHAT MEAN YE BY THIS SERVICE?

THE QUESTION DISCUSSED

IN

THE TRIAL

OF

GEORGE HERBERT, RICHARD HOOKER, CHARLES SIMEON, REGINALD HEBER, AND THOMAS SCOTT,

ON

THE CHARGE OF HERESY.

BY

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"Discite justitiam moniti."—VIRGIL.
"Hear, and be just."

Second Edition.

WITH AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING THREE LETTERS RECENTLY ADDRESSED TO THE BISHOP OF EXETER.

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PREFACE.

Although hundreds of books have been published on the Baptismal Question, and it has been decided that the Bishop of Exeter's opinion is not the ruled doctrine of our Church, yet is it still frequently asked, What is the teaching of the Church of England on this point? The writer of the following pages has endeavoured to supply those readers, who have either no leisure or no inclination to peruse larger and more elaborate works, with evidence and arguments which may assist them to answer this question.

But since the efficacy of infant-baptism is a matter respecting which the Word of God is silent, and since our Church in her sixth Article declares, that "Whatsoever is not read (in Holy Scripture), nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith," the

reader should bear in mind that, whatever he may conclude from the language of our Church to be her teaching upon this subject, this can be only *his* inference, and is not the authoritative declaration of the Church. The voice of a Scriptural Church is never heard to speak authoritatively and dogmatically on points which God hath not revealed; for although she hath "authority in controversies of Faith," as it is stated in our twentieth Article, "yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's Word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another."

Our Church, therefore, is silent respecting the efficacy of infant-baptism, because she is not authorized by Scripture to speak upon that matter; and hence, whatever inferences may have been drawn by different parties from the language of her Formularies, none of them is to be received as if it were a plain doctrine of Scripture. Each should be subjected "to the Law and to the Testimony," and that which is honestly and conscientiously believed to be most agreeable to that Divine and infallible standard, ought to be embraced. But how firmly soever any man may be persuaded, that his interpretation is most in accordance with God's Word,

he has no right to accuse another, who cannot see it in the same light, of holding heretical sentiments; because the subject, on which they differ, has not been determined by Holy Scripture. For instance, one person believes that, at baptism God is pleased to confer on every infant a germ, or seed, of grace, which will, under due cultivation, grow and increase and "produce fruit unto perfection." Another allows that this *may* be the case; but as God has nowhere declared that it is so, he cannot believe that grace is invariably communicated to all baptized infants. Both parties may feel perfectly satisfied that their opinions respectively are not repugnant to Holy Scripture; but, as God has not expressly spoken on the point in debate, it would be a proof of bigotry in either to maintain that his opponent is a heretic.

No inferences, however, which men may draw, are tenable, if they transgress certain limits. They ought not to be repugnant to any clearly revealed doctrine. If, therefore, any opinion respecting the efficacy of infant-baptism be subversive of the doctrine of justification by faith alone, it is contrary to Scripture, and to our eleventh Article; and, consequently, no consistent member of our Church can fail utterly to repudiate

Dr. Pusey's opinion respecting baptism, if that opinion may be gathered from the following passage in his "Tracts on Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism:"—"We have almost embraced the doctrine," the Professor complains, "that God conveys grace only through the instrumentality of the mental energies; that is, through faith, prayer, actual spiritual contemplations, or (what is called) communion with God, in contradiction to the primitive view, according to which the Church and her sacraments are the ordained and direct visible means of conveying to the soul what is in itself supernatural and unseen. For example, would not most men maintain, on the first view of the subject, that to administer the Lord's Supper to infants, or to the dying and insensible, however consistently pious and believing in their past lives, was a superstition? and yet both parties have the sanction of primitive usage. And does not this account for the prevailing indisposition to admit that Baptism conveys Regeneration? Indeed, this may even be set down as the essence of Sectarian doctrine (however its mischief may be restrained or compensated, in the case of individuals,) to consider faith, and not the sacraments, as the instrument of justification and other Gospel gifts."

However such sentiments may be defended by an appeal to what Dr. Pusey calls "the primitive view" (he should rather have called it *Tradition*, by which men render "the Word of God of none effect,") they are plainly "contrary to God's Word written," to the express declaration of the Articles of our Church, and to the whole tenor and spirit of her Liturgy and Formularies.

References to the writings from which quotations are given in this little work, will be found at the end.

INTRODUCTION TO THE TRIAL.

While reading the Bishop of Exeter's Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, I was much struck with one assertion which his Lordship made, namely, that had the Decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council been against the reverend G. C. Gorham, it would not have affected more than five or six clergymen of our Church. I was naturally astonished at this statement, and tried every possible way to account for it. That it was a misprint I felt no doubt, until I looked at the context again, and also at the edition which I was reading; but when I found that the Letter had gone through five editions, and had been, of course, carefully revised by its acute author; and when I considered that his object was to shew that Mr. Gorham had such crotchets in his head as, perhaps, no other individual was troubled with, I saw that there was no mistake in the print. The writer evidently meant what he had stated: "Not more than five or six clergymen

affected by such a decision!" I exclaimed: "amazing! incredible!" I pondered long—and the more I pondered the more I was perplexed. Throwing myself back in my library chair, and fixing my eyes upon the pictures which hung before me on the walls of my study, I was soon overtaken by a degree of somnolency, which I tried in vain to shake off; and yet every thing before me appeared so vivid, that I could not fancy that I was dreaming. The pictures became suddenly animated. The pious George Herbert descended from the frame, and sat down at a large round table which was placed in the middle of the room. He was followed, in quick succession, by Thomas Scott, the laborious and indefatigable Commentator; the amiable Heber; the venerable Charles Simeon; and the judicious Hooker. In other parts of the room were several gentlemen of grave and thoughtful deportment conversing together. Amongst whom I thought I could discern the features of the inflexible Luther, and those of the mild and conciliatory Melancthon.

In dreams, whether we are awake or asleep, we seldom attend much to the niceties of time, place, or other circumstances; and things the most improbable appear to us quite natural and consistent. Else I might surely have discovered that I was dreaming, when I imagined that men, some of whom lived at very different periods, and occupied very different stations, were contemporaneous parish priests in the Diocese of Exeter. This mistake, however, will readily be excused by those who have ever dreamed themselves. May I not hope that it will be overlooked even by that ingenious and talented Prelate, whose recent

Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury can be accounted for on no other supposition than that the writer had been indulging himself in this manner?

But to return to my dream. Methought that the party who sat round my study table, as well as the gentlemen who stood in different parts of the room, were all engaged in earnest conversation. At first I could hardly discover what they were talking about; but at length I ascertained that the venerable divines before me were conversing about a great Trial which was soon to come on, and in which they were deeply interested. Five of the clergymen present had, in fact, been accused of Heresy; and their Accuser, the Bishop of Exeter, insisted that they should be ejected from their respective benefices. I then found that the other grave personages (except Luther and Melancthon) were the Counsel which the accused divines had retained for their defence. The Trial was to be conducted, I learnt, in a manner somewhat different from Ecclesiastical Trials. This irregularity did not, of course, strike me during my dream, but all things appeared quite regular and consistent.

Suddenly a door was opened, and an Official of the Court came in and announced, that the hour for the Trial had arrived. The room was soon cleared of its late occupants; and I followed the party into a spacious Court-house. There sat the learned Judge on the tribunal-seat, with several of his brothers as assessors. The Counsel on both sides, in their robes and wigs, sat at a green table beneath the bench. On one side the five accused divines stood in a sort of gallery; and on the opposite side was a jury, consisting of

ten laymen and two clergymen. On my inquiring the reason why such a mixed jury had been selected, a barrister whispered in my ear that, as it was a case involving Heresy, the gentlemen of the jury, although very intelligent and well-educated persons, had expressed a wish to have two clergymen, skilled in Ecclesiastical Law, placed in the box with them. It was also agreed, the barrister told me, that each counsel should speak only once, and for a limited time, whether for the prosecution or the defence. The Court-house was well filled; and although the numerous spectators were perfectly silent, much anxiety was visible on their countenances.

THE TRIAL.

The silence which prevailed in the Court was soon broken by the voice of the leading counsel for the prosecution, Mr. Serjeant Alton, who thus addressed the jury.

Address of Counsel for the Prosecution.

Gentlemen,

The case which is now to be laid before you is confessedly of so difficult a nature, that I feel considerable embarrassment in addressing you. It involves the charge of Heresy against all the individuals at the bar; and it is not usual for Temporal Courts to take

cognizance of such matters. It is true, indeed, that a secular judge may "incidentally take knowledge whether a tenet be heretical or not: as where one was committed by force of the Statute of the 2nd Henry IV., c. 15, for saying that he was not bound by the Law of God to pay tithes to the curate; and another for saying, that though he was excommunicate before men, yet he was not so before God: the Temporal Courts, on an *habeas corpus* in the first case, and an action of false imprisonment in the other, adjudged neither of the points to be heresy within that Statute; for the King's Courts will examine all things which are ordained by Statute." And it is in this incidental way that you are now to determine whether the individuals at the bar are, or are not, guilty of Heresy. The real object, indeed, which the Prosecutor has in view is, the ejectment of these clergymen from their respective benefices, in consequence of their holding heretical opinions or doctrines contrary to the true Christian faith, and the doctrines contained in the Articles and Formularies of the United Church of England and Ireland, and especially in the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the United Church of England and Ireland. This, I say, is the Bishop's object, because he is conscientiously of opinion that these gentlemen are totally unfit to have the cure of souls while they entertain their present views.

In thus endeavouring to exclude them from any spiritual charge in his Lordship's Diocese, the Bishop is performing a necessary but very painful duty. He

deeply laments the necessity which is laid upon him. He dares not, however, shrink from a duty which he solemnly bound himself to discharge, when at his consecration he engaged to be "ready, with all faithful diligence, to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God's Word." And his Lordship has such perfect confidence in the Temporal Courts, that he comes, without any hesitation, to request your aid to enable him to exclude these clergymen from the benefices which they so unworthily occupy. I feel assured, Gentlemen, that when the evidence has been laid before you, you will not have the slightest doubt that they hold the heretical opinions imputed to them. It is such evidence as cannot fail to satisfy every dispassionate hearer that they really entertain the views with which the Bishop charges them; for they may be all convicted out of their own mouths, or, which is still more important, by their own writings—*Litera scripta manet.*

I will confine myself to the charge against the first individual in the indictment, namely, the reverend George Herbert; as to the other clergymen, the charge against them will be abundantly substantiated by my learned brethren who are appointed to conduct the several cases. Before I produce my evidence, allow me to assure you that the Bishop fully appreciates the zeal and piety of the individual against whom it has become his painful duty to institute these proceedings. His Lordship allows that a more devoted and laborious minister, a more charitable and amiable character, a more talented and yet withal meek and humble-minded clergyman, cannot probably be found in his Diocese.

But, Gentlemen, you are aware, as well as the Prosecutor, that these excellent qualities, when unhappily associated with heretical opinions, render the individual more dangerous to society in general, and to the flock in particular over which he has been placed. If the Bishop could have allowed feeling and inclination and prepossessions to have obscured his judgment, and blunted his sense of duty, he might have escaped much obloquy and many invidious reflections. But it is well for the Church—it is well for religion—it is well for Catholic truth—that the Bishop has resolved that no bias in favour of the man shall lead him to connive at the unsound opinions of the divine. His Lordship has had much to struggle with; but conscious rectitude has supported him under all his trials, and has strengthened his resolution to drive, if possible, from his Diocese this teacher of erroneous and strange doctrine, much as he loves the man:—

> "I love thee, Cassio, but never more
> Be minister of mine."

What, then, is this dangerous and pernicious doctrine, for the holding of which, by the reverend George Herbert, it is absolutely necessary for the safety of the Church, and for the security of the people of this country, that this gentleman should be ejected from his benefice, and prohibited from the exercise of all spiritual functions in our Church? It is an error which saps the very foundation of our religion. It would rob our innocent children of their invaluable birthright, and would take from bereaved parents their sweetest consolation—the assurance that, by Baptism, their little ones had been made pure and fit for heaven, and that

as they had died in infancy, and, consequently, before they had lost their Baptismal purity, they are "undoubtedly saved." You look surprised, Gentlemen; and well may you so look, on hearing that an error of such magnitude is laid to the charge of the amiable and pious George Herbert. I wish—the Bishop wishes—doubtless all in this Court wish—that it were possible to explain his meaning more favourably. But here is the evidence against him, under his own hand. Not content with teaching this heretical doctrine from the pulpit—not satisfied with inculcating it upon the members of his own immediate charge—he has had the audacity to print it; and, in order to render the poison more attractive, has abused his poetical talent by versifying it! The following extract from a Poem, entitled "The Synagogue," and found among the printed works of George Herbert, and which he has never repudiated, will substantiate the charge against him.

"Regeneration is all in all;
Washing or sprinkling but the sign,
The seal, and instrument thereof: I call
The one, as well as the other, mine,
And my posterity's, as federal.
If temporal estates may be conveyed,
By covenants, on condition,
To men and to their heirs; be not afraid,
My soul, to rest upon
The covenant of grace by mercy made.
Do but thy duty, and rely upon 't,
Repentance, faith, obedience,
Whenever practised truly, will amount
To an authentic evidence,
Though the deed were ante-dated at the Font."

Here you may observe, Gentlemen, that washing or sprinkling, by which the writer means Baptism, is declared to be *only a sign*—"*but* the sign, the seal, and instrument" of regeneration. Whereas Baptism and Regeneration, especially in the case of infants, have always been regarded by the Church as convertible terms. "In the ninth Article," (of our Church) says the Bishop of Exeter, "the word *renatis*, in the Latin copy, is, in the English, baptized; both copies being, as you know, equally original. Surely," adds his Lordship, "this alone is sufficient to prove, that our Church considers the being *baptized* the same as being *regenerate;* for it uses the very terms as convertible."

When an infant is baptized, by a lawful minister, with water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, it is always then regenerated; made by God, in such baptism, a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven. The language both of the Baptismal Service and of the Catechism clearly and unequivocally enunciates this doctrine. There is nothing conditional in the matter. The inward and spiritual grace, that is regeneration, "a death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness" is conveyed to the infant when he is lawfully baptized, in and through that sacrament. There is then implanted in him the power or capacity of pleasing God, and living the renewed life of faith and holiness. Of course it is only as a seed, and will be of no avail unless it be duly fostered and cultivated afterwards.

The great error of Mr. Herbert is, that he makes this gift conditional—that he requires "repentance,

faith, obedience," as evidence of a man's regeneration, instead of being content with ascertaining the important point, that he was baptized in infancy by a lawful minister. Think, Gentlemen, in what a state of doubt and perplexity will the large majority of Christians be placed if they are not to consider themselves regenerate, or children of God and heirs of heaven, until "repentance, faith, and obedience" are "practised truly" by them! Think of comparing Baptism to the signing of a deed by which "temporal estates may be conveyed by covenants, on condition," instead of teaching that in the act of Baptism every infant is absolutely and unconditionally put in possession of the highest spiritual grace! Such heretical teaching as the separability of Baptism from Regeneration, in the case of infants at least, is surely not to be tolerated; and therefore I confidently anticipate a decision in favour of the Bishop of Exeter, and that you will cordially agree that the Rev. George Herbert shall be ejected from his Living, as a teacher of doctrines which are utterly at variance with the unequivocal declarations of the Church of England.

Address of Counsel for the Defence.

After a short pause, Mr. Counsellor Nampton rose on behalf of the Rev. George Herbert, and spoke as follows:—

It was quite unnecessary, Gentlemen of the jury, for my learned brother to tell you, that the Bishop of Exeter was actuated by the most conscientious motives

in commencing proceedings against the gentlemen at the bar. No one, I am persuaded, doubts his motives, whatever doubt they may feel as to his wisdom and judgment. A man of his Lordship's experience, and at an age too when peace and quietness are usually sought rather than strife and litigation, must unquestionably be urged on his present course by nothing but a strong sense of duty; and I am quite willing to believe that it is his misfortune rather than his fault that his Lordship occupies a position at present, which, doubtless, he feels to be far from enviable.

My learned brother has already told you, that it is only under particular circumstances that temporal courts can take cognizance of Heresy: if, as in the present case, individuals may be subjected to temporal penalties on a charge of Heresy, justice requires that this Court should be perfectly sure that the parties are guilty of the alleged offence before it allows the penalties to be inflicted. It is for you then, Gentlemen, to determine whether the evidence which has been adduced against the Rev. George Herbert is sufficient to establish this charge. It will, however, be necessary for you clearly to understand what is Heresy. Heresy is stated to be "a false opinion repugnant to some point of doctrine clearly revealed in Scripture, and either absolutely essential to the Christian faith, or at least of most high importance." Does then the opinion which Mr. Herbert is accused of holding, that the grace of regeneration is not always given to infants in Baptism, come within this definition? Is the effect of Infant Baptism so clearly revealed in Scripture that no room is left for doubt or hesitation on the subject? My learned friend

will not venture to say that: but I see him pointing to the Prayer Book of our Church, as if appealing to an authority which members and ministers of the Church of England are bound to respect. Now I am quite willing to allow that any doctrine which is repugnant to the true meaning of our Liturgy and Articles is heretical; not because those Formularies are sanctioned by our Church, but because nothing is admitted into them and required to be believed as necessary to salvation which cannot be proved by Holy Scripture. The question therefore is, Do the Articles and Formularies of our Church clearly and unequivocally enunciate that Regeneration is always given in and by Baptism to infants? The Bishop of Exeter states in the passage quoted by my learned friend, that our Church views the words "*baptized*" and "*regenerated*" as convertible, because she has translated *renatis* as both baptized and regenerated. But it is to be observed, that in the Ninth Article, where she translates *renatis* baptized, she adds *et credentibus* (who also believe). If this Article therefore proves anything, it proves that the words *baptized* and *regenerated* are not convertible terms. Indeed, the Bishop himself would hesitate to assert that the words are convertible in the case of persons baptized at a responsible age. He would scarcely venture to affirm that all such, whether they came with faith and repentance or not to Baptism, were regenerated.

There are various definitions of the word Regeneration; but I will accept the definition which my learned friend has given, namely, *the implanting in infants the power or capacity of pleasing God, and living the life*

of faith and holiness. This he maintains to be the invariable effect of infant-baptism lawfully administered. This, he declares, is unequivocally taught by our Church, in her Prayer Book, Articles, and Catechism. Let us then examine those Formularies.

In one part of the Baptismal Service the minister says: "We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant with thy Holy Spirit, to receive him for thine own child by adoption, and to incorporate him into thy Holy Church." And in the Office for children who have been privately baptized, he declares, that the child, who was "born in original sin, and in the wrath of God, is now, by the laver of Regeneration in Baptism, received into the number of the children of God, and heirs of everlasting life." Does not this plainly show, it is asked, that, in the opinion of the Church, spiritual Regeneration always accompanies Baptism, in the case, at least, of infants? Is it not manifest that children, when duly baptized, are absolutely and unconditionally regenerated? It is answered, that this is the language of faith, hope, and charity, not of certainty. If it were absolutely certain that every infant duly baptized by a lawful minister, is, by the mere performance of the sacrament, spiritually born again, what need to pray for that gift which, it is said, is inseparably joined to Baptism? Had our Church held this doctrine, it is difficult to understand why she should require "in cases of exigence," that the minister should say "the Lord's Prayer, and so many of the Collects as the time and present exigence will suffer." Suppose the child is in the very agony of death—the minister

must still offer prayer—the Lord's Prayer at least—before he baptizes; although while he is offering it the infant may expire, and thus depart unbaptized. Surely, had our Church believed that the mere act of Baptism conferred spiritual regeneration on infants, she would have directed the minister, under such circumstances, to baptize the child instantly. Is it not evident from this, and from the very nature of the petitions offered up previous to Baptism, namely, that the infant "*may* receive remission of his sins by spiritual regeneration" —that "he *may* be baptized with water and *the Holy Ghost*"—is it not evident that our Church considers the blessings here prayed for *not* necessarily and inseparably joined to Baptism?

Observe also the ground on which the congregation are to rest their belief that Christ will receive the infant, embrace him with the arms of mercy, and give him the blessing of eternal life:—it is not on any promise that by the mere act of Baptism a new and heavenly nature shall be given to the child, but on the ground that Christ commanded children to be brought to him, blamed those who would have kept them from him, "exhorted all men to follow their innocency," and by his "outward gesture and deed declared his good will toward them." Here are indeed sufficient reasons for not doubting but earnestly believing that God, through Christ, is willing to grant to the infant, that he may not only be baptized with water, but also with the Holy Ghost, and be "received into Christ's Holy Church, and be made a lively member of the same." Here is a substantial foundation on which believing parents and sponsors (none else, be it remembered, are

recognized by our Church) can rest their hopes respecting the child. But had it been the doctrine of the Church that spiritual regeneration invariably accompanies the Baptism of infants, it is utterly unaccountable that she should not, in this exhortation, have stated so important a matter. But why thank God, it has been asked, that the children are regenerate, unless we are absolutely certain that such a gift is then communicated? It is, I repeat, the language of believers who have offered up petitions for spiritual benefits on behalf of one who could not pray for itself; and not doubting that such requests are pleasing to God, and relying on the promise—"Whatsoever ye shall ask, believing, ye shall receive." It is on the same principle that we thank God, at the grave of our departed friends, that He has been pleased to deliver them from the miseries of this sinful world, and express our hope that their souls are resting in Christ. It is Faith speaking with the voice of hope and charity. It was thus that Jehoshaphat, believing the promises of God, gave thanks and praises, before he had obtained the promised deliverance. God's promises belong to believers and their children. We believe those promises: and charity requires us to believe that they who profess to be Christians really are so, and, consequently, that their children have an interest in the promised blessings. Only bear in mind, Gentlemen, that all the Offices of our Church are intended for the use of *believers exclusively*, and the difficulty with respect to this part of the Baptismal Service will disappear. That many use these Offices who do not pray in faith, and who therefore have no solid ground for

hoping that their formal petitions will be answered, and who are therefore guilty of presumption in thanking God for benefits promised only to the prayer of faith, is no more an argument against this service, than is the painful fact, that many with their lips say to God,—"Our Father,"—who in their hearts love sin, and show by their lives that they are the children of Satan, a reason why we should expunge the Lord's Prayer from our Liturgy.

If it be still maintained that the words, "This child is regenerate," can be understood only absolutely and unconditionally, then I would ask, How do you get over the difficulty with regard to adults? The same words are used at their Baptism. The candidates, after making the required confession of faith, are declared to be "regenerate and grafted into the body of Christ's Church." Is it not possible—is it not very probable—that some of those adults may be insincere, may confess Christ with their lips while their hearts are far from him? How then can our Church with propriety use this language, when she cannot know for certain what is the spiritual condition of the baptized? I repeat, charity requires that she should thus speak of those who have made an outward profession of faith and repentance. She cannot read the heart—she does not profess to determine infallibly what is the state of all her members in the sight of God, and therefore she uses the language of hope and charity. Her opponents have often accused her of teaching that unworthy adults receive the inward spiritual grace with the outward visible sign, *ex opere operato*, from the mere performance of the sacrament. They misunderstand her

language. They think she speaks positively instead of conditionally and charitably. And therefore they attribute to her a doctrine which she utterly rejects. In her twenty-seventh Article, Baptism is stated to be "a sign of Regeneration or new birth" in those "who receive Baptism rightly," or, as it is expressed in reference to the other sacrament, "rightly, worthily, and with faith." *In the eye of the Church*, which views all persons as sincere who make a profession of faith and repentance, they are regarded as regenerate, born from above, and created anew in Christ Jesus; but *in the sight of God* they may appear very differently. Whether they come to Baptism worthily or unworthily they are born of water, but God alone knows whether they are also born of the Spirit; and therefore our Church must speak hypothetically, or in the language of charity. But if she cannot and does not speak absolutely respecting the state of baptized adults, why should she be supposed to decide positively as to the condition of baptized infants? Her declarations are in both cases the same. She cannot absolutely determine either that infants or adults are partakers of the inward and spiritual grace, when she administers the outward sign. She is not infallibly certain respecting the infant whom she baptizes that he is not an undeveloped Simon Magus.

Thus explained, the language of our Church is consistent and scriptural in her Baptismal and other Offices; but if my learned friend's opinion is to be received, she is made both inconsistent and unscriptural; and the learned counsel, notwithstanding all his acuteness and ingenuity, will be utterly unable to defend her from

the charge of holding the *opus operatum* doctrine of the Church of Rome.

If, Gentlemen, you examine the Formularies of our Church, you will find that they are all constructed on the same charitable principle. In her Liturgy, in the Offices for Confirmation, Marriage, Churching of Women, Visitation of the Sick, and the Burial of the Dead, this principle is ever kept in view. She speaks of the subjects of those Offices as regenerate persons, God's servants and children, because she can judge only by their outward profession, and because she is bound by the law of charity to speak in this way. In doing so she follows the example of the Apostles, who call the members of the churches to which they addressed their epistles, saints and servants of God, notwithstanding the fact, that hypocrites and unbelievers were mingled with them, like tares amongst wheat. This charitable language was also used by the Old Testament Church. After a child was circumcised, it was accounted and called one of God's peculiar people; but as all were not circumcised in heart who received outward circumcision, so are not all who receive the sign of Regeneration truly born of God. The adult, although his profession of faith is received as sincere, and he is charitably declared to be a child of God, may be in reality a child of perdition: and so may be the infant who is baptized. Its profession of faith and repentance (either expressed by its sponsors, or implied, as in Private Baptism) is received as charity requires, and it is accordingly pronounced "regenerate;" but God, with whom, properly speaking, there is no past or future, but all things from eternity to eternity are

ever present before his eyes, sees that unconscious infant, not only as it is now, but as it will be in future years—journeying, perhaps, in the strait and narrow way that leadeth unto life, or, it may be, running in the broad way to destruction. The term "regenerate" must, therefore, be understood, in this case, as the words "God's servants" are in the other Offices of our Church, not as determining the actual condition of the baptized infant in the sight of God, but as the judgment of charity. The only case in which the Church speaks decidedly is, when a baptized infant dies before it commits actual sin. An infant thus dying, it is declared, is "undoubtedly saved."

Much stress has been laid upon the words—"this child is *now*, by the laver of Regeneration in Baptism, received, &c."—as if the adverb *now* excludes the supposition that the baptized child may have been previously, or may be at some future and, perhaps, distant period, "born of the Spirit," and confines the work of Regeneration to the time of Baptism. But "*now*" is evidently not an adverb of time, for it is used in the case of children who may have been privately baptized months or years previously. It cannot be meant to point out the precise moment when the new birth takes place. The Church does not presume absolutely to determine this matter, or to limit the Almighty as to "the times and the seasons" when he shall communicate spiritual grace (for the Scriptures nowhere authorize her to do so); and therefore she cannot positively assert that Regeneration is given whenever the outward visible sign is administered. It may, as far as she knows, be communicated before, at, or after Baptism.

She speaks only that which she knows, and testifies only of that which she hath seen. She hath seen the outward visible sign applied to those who were brought to Baptism; but she does not know that the inward and spiritual grace has been previously, is now, or will afterwards be given to the baptized. She speaks of the baptized as regenerate in the eye of the Church, because he has received the "sign of Regeneration, or new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive Baptism rightly are grafted into the Church."

Baptism, like circumcision, cannot be properly said to be always accompanied by the inward spiritual grace which it signifies. When Abraham was circumcised, he received the sign and seal of the grace which he had long before possessed; when his infant descendants were circumcised, they received the sign and seal of the grace which, it was charitably hoped, they would afterwards possess. It is the same now with respect to baptized infants and adults. When the former are baptized, they have applied to them the sign of that grace which it is hoped that they will afterwards show that they possess, by their "repentance, faith, and obedience;" when the latter are admitted to Baptism, it is on their profession of faith and repentance which the Church charitably believes really exist in the candidates; and, should this be the case, they have been previously regenerated or born of God; for "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God." "As many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name."

"They are the sons of God," says Bishop Beveridge,

"not in a carnal, but spiritual sense; . . . . born of him . . . by spiritual regeneration, through the mighty power and efficacy of the Holy Ghost, renewing the spirit of their minds, and so infusing into them a principle of new life, whereby they become new creatures, and have the image of God enstamped again upon them, so as to be partakers of his divine nature, and holy in their capacities, as he is holy. . . . . But here we must observe," continues the Bishop, "the condition upon which Christ gives those who received this power or privilege to become the sons of God, even because they believe in his name, for so the words in the original plainly import, and may be thus rendered: *But as many as received him, to them*, as believe in his name, *he gave power to become the sons of God.* So that it is upon the account of their believing in him, that he is pleased to confer this honour upon them. And so, indeed, by the Gospel tenure, all our right and title to the great blessings which Christ hath purchased for mankind, is founded upon our believing in him. It is by that our sins are pardoned, our persons justified, and our souls saved. . . . . Hence it is that, as St. John expressly tells us, *Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God;* because, by his believing in Jesus Christ, he receives the Spirit of God, whereby he is regenerate and born again of him. And to the same purpose St. Paul saith, *Ye are all the children of God, by Faith in Jesus Christ.* From whence it is manifest, that as we are made the children of God only by Christ, we are made so by him only upon our believing in him." Such is the language of the pious and learned Bishop Beveridge. Do you ask, Gentlemen, How can

our Church speak of worthy recipients of this Sacrament as being *now born again*, when they had previously —perhaps months or years before their Baptism—been born of God? I answer, Because she hath now seen applied to them the "sign of Regeneration, or new birth, whereby . . . . the promises of the forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are *visibly* signed and sealed." Our Church makes no declaration concerning any candidates for this Sacrament, however pious and exemplary may be their life and conversation, until she hath seen them, after they have made the requisite confession of faith, signed and sealed as God's children; but when they have made this profession, and obediently, that is, as she hopes, "by faith and rightly," come to this holy ordinance, then she testifies of that which she hath seen, and publicly declares those persons to be "now regenerate, and made heirs of everlasting salvation, through our Lord Jesus Christ." But as the Church can judge only "according to outward appearance," her language, applied either to adults or infants, must obviously be that of hope and charity, and ought not to be considered as the decision of an infallible judge.

"If any be not baptized," says Bishop Jewell, "but lacketh the mark of God's fold, we cannot discern him to be one of the flock. If any take not the seal of regeneration, we cannot say he is born the child of God." Does this eminent Defender of our Church maintain, that Baptism absolutely confers regeneration? No: he says that "the Sacrament maketh not a Christian, but is a seal and assurance unto all that receive it of the grace of God, unless they make themselves

unworthy thereof." And with respect to infants who die unbaptized, he observes: "The grace of God is not tied so to the ministration of the Sacrament, that if any be prevented by death, so that he cannot be received to the fellowship thereof, he should therefore be thought to be damned. God hath his purpose," he adds, "in us and our children. Before we be born, when we had done neither good nor evil, he hath mercy and compassion upon us. Judgment appertaineth unto God. He knoweth who are his."

"The Gentiles," says Whitby, in his Comment on John xi. 52, "are here called the sons of God, not that they were so at present, but that they were by faith to be made such; as our Lord calls them sheep who were to hear his voice." You see then, Gentlemen, that Scripture speaks much in the same way as does the Prayer Book. If, therefore, the inspired writers call them the children of God who were as yet living without God, and ignorant of the way of life, why may not our Church use this language respecting baptized infants? And if it would be absurd to conclude from the Apostle's words that *all* the Gentiles were the children of God, is it not equally so to maintain, that our Church teaches that *all* baptized infants are truly the children of God, instead of limiting the term to those who "shall by faith be made such?" All baptized children are doubtless regarded, in the eye of charity, as God's children, because of the promise made to believers and their seed; and they are recognized by the Church as the children of believers, when brought by their parents or sponsors into covenant with God by Baptism. But to account these baptized infants God's

children, and to declare them infallibly to be so, are very different things. The first is a charitable and scriptural proceeding; the latter is an act of arrogant presumption. They who are—not merely outwardly by the seal of Baptism, but really and truly—God's children, and the sheep who will follow the Good Shepherd, will be called according to his (God's) purpose, by his Spirit working *in due season;* they will through grace obey the calling, be justified freely, be made the sons of God by adoption, be made like unto the image of his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ; will walk religiously in good works, and will "at length, by God's mercy, attain to everlasting felicity."

Can anything, then, be more unfair than to conclude from these general expressions in the Baptismal Service, that our Church teaches that all adults, or all infants, whom she baptizes, are invariably born of God, have received a new nature, new desires and affections, and will (if adults, from the time of their Baptism; if infants, from the first dawning of reason) abhor and flee from that which is evil, and cleave to that which is good? Would any intelligent person think of taking the language of Scripture, and applying it to every individual? Would any one, for instance, on reading how St. Paul addresses the Church at Thessalonica:—"We give thanks to God always for you all, making mention of you in our prayers; remembering without ceasing your work of faith, and labour of love, and patience of hope," &c.—would he assert that *every* member of that Church was a true Christian? Or when he thus writes to the Galatian Church:—"As many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on

Christ. Ye are all one in Christ Jesus. And if ye be Christ's then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise,"—would any reasonable man infer that the Apostle considered all the members of that Church, children of God and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven? If any one should suppose so, he might see his mistake by reading the fourth chapter of the same Epistle. Some of these Galatian Christians were resting on outward ordinances, instead of looking through them to the things which they signified; and thus they were expecting to be saved by works. All such persons are informed that Christ shall profit them nothing. How then are we to understand this language? The words are as plain as "Seeing now that these children, or these persons, are regenerate;" the Apostle speaks of *all* the baptized as having "put on Christ," which means being transformed into his image "in righteousness and true holiness;" and yet it is evident, from the context, that they were not all in this state. We cannot then understand the Apostle—we cannot reconcile this language with that which he uses to the same Church, unless we consider him as speaking charitably. Let the same rule of interpretation be applied to the services of our Church —let them be allowed "such just and favourable construction as in common equity ought to be allowed to all human writings, especially such as are set forth by authority, and even to the very best translations of the Holy Scripture itself," and, I repeat, the difficulty under which so many good and conscientious persons labour on the Baptismal Question, will be removed.

But it has been objected, that unless every child be

spiritually regenerated in and by Baptism, there is an inconsistency in teaching him to say, that he was "made (in Baptism) a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven." To which it is answered, that being thus admitted into Christ's visible Church, he was then, and not before, publicly made or sealed, and, therefore, acknowledged, a member of Christ's body, which is the Church, a child of God, &c., although, in God's sight, he might previously have been made his child by adoption and grace; or, perhaps, he may never receive this privilege and blessing. The Church uses here (in the Catechism) as in all her Formularies, the language of hope and charity. How else could she teach the child to say, in another place, "I believe in God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth me and all the elect people of God?" She is not certain that all whom she baptizes are God's elect children, and under the sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit; but she nevertheless charitably speaks of them as such, just as the Apostles called the Christians, to whom they wrote, "saints, elect, &c.," though many among them were only nominal Christians. The child is very properly taught, in the Catechism, that he was regarded by the Church as a member of Christ and a child of God, from the time that she saw him signed and sealed in Baptism, as one of the household of faith. And he is informed what things he will believe and do, if he be a Christian indeed. He will learn that the Church of Christ on earth contains both good and bad members: that the latter, although called Christians and servants of God, neither serve Him nor love Him sincerely, whatever

they may profess with their lips; while the former really love their heavenly Father, and earnestly strive to think and speak and do what is pleasing to Him, and are truly grieved and afflicted whenever they have sinned against Him. He is taught, so soon as he arrives at a proper age, to try and examine himself whether he belongs to the former or the latter class—whether he can draw near with faith, and partake of the highest privilege which the children of God enjoy in his Church, or whether he has disappointed the charitable hope which had been expressed concerning him, and has neither part nor lot in the Saviour.

Our Church then, you will perceive, Gentlemen, is very far from teaching that in the Sacrament of Baptism the inward and spiritual grace is invariably given, either to adults or infants, by the mere performance of the sacrament: but that she requires, in both cases, repentance and faith (present at the time of Baptism in adults; prospective, in the case of infants) as necessary to "the wholesome operation" of that sacrament. And as it is generally allowed that her declaration, that baptized adults are regenerate, is not a positive determination of their state before God, but a charitable presumption founded on their profession of repentance and faith; so is it equally clear that she uses the language of charity, when she pronounces baptized infants regenerate. If she is censured for using such charitable language, she may well bear a censure to which the inspired writers are likewise obnoxious. The Church of England is truly scriptural, and, therefore, she needs not be "careful to answer" those adversaries who bring accusations against her which may with equal

justice be brought against Holy Scripture. "To the Law and to the Testimony" she appeals: the Bible alone she regards as her standard, and by this she is prepared to stand or fall.

But when the meaning of any expressions in our Liturgy and Formularies is not clear, some light may generally be thrown on the subject by an appeal to the Articles, which are our code of doctrine, and which are allowed by all who sign them to "contain the true doctrine of the Church of England agreeable to God's Word." They are to be taken in their literal and grammatical sense "according to the usual acceptation of words," says Dr. Waterland, "the custom of speech at the time of their being written, the scope and intention of the writers, discoverable from the occasion, from controversies then on foot, or from any other circumstances affording light into it."

Hence if a person should fancy that the words in the Communion Service—"the body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, &c."—sanction the Popish doctrine of Transubstantiation, he would be putting a construction upon them which our Church altogether repudiates in her twenty-eighth Article. Or suppose, as in the present case, a Bishop accuses one of his clergy of Heresy, because that clergyman thinks the words—"this child is regenerate"—though apparently sanctioning the Popish doctrine that grace is conferred by the mere performance of the Sacrament of Baptism, are capable of a more scriptural interpretation; the accusation will fall to the ground as soon as reference is made to the 25th, 26th, and 27th Articles. It will there be found that our Church gives

no countenance to the doctrine of the communication of grace—*ex opere operato*—from the mere performance of the sacrament. The Articles referred to constrain the Bishop to put a favourable, that is, a Protestant construction upon the same words when applied to an adult at Baptism, who, it is allowed by all parties, is not absolutely but conditionally regenerate; and unless there be an Article which declares that the same expression shall be interpreted in a Popish sense, that is, absolutely and unconditionally in the case of infants, he is bound to consider every infant also conditionally regenerate. But there is no such Article: our Church does not make the case of infants an exception; and therefore she cannot be said to "agree with Rome" on this point, as the Bishop so confidently avers.

Let then reason and common sense determine, Gentlemen of the jury, which of these parties hold opinions repugnant to the true doctrines of the Church of England—the Bishop, who asserts that every infant is unconditionally made a child of God and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven, in and by Baptism, even as the Church of Rome maintains; or the reverend George Herbert, who considers all infants conditionally and not absolutely regenerate, and puts the same charitable construction on the words of the Baptismal Service, in the case both of infants and adults. "I speak as to wise men; judge ye what I say."

Address of Counsel for the Prosecution.

Mr. Counsellor M'Kell now rose and addressed the jury as follows:—

Gentlemen,

As one of the counsel retained by the Bishop of Exeter in this unhappy case, it falls to my lot to adduce evidence in support of the charge of Heresy against the reverend Richard Hooker. When you consider the profound learning, the unquestionable piety, the beautiful humility, and the many other excellent virtues and attainments which adorn the character of this gentleman, you will, I am persuaded, sympathize with me while I express my deep regret for the grievous error into which a man, in all other respects so estimable and judicious, has unhappily fallen. You will also agree with me, that nothing can exhibit in a more conspicuous light the strict impartiality of the Bishop, and his firm determination to banish all erroneous doctrines from his Diocese, as he is in duty bound, than the fact of his commencing proceedings for the ejectment of such a clergyman from his spiritual charge. You will all allow that the point in question must be of the greatest importance, and will believe me when I assure you that the Bishop has spared no pains, but has again and again tendered to this mistaken clergyman his fatherly and affectionate counsel, in order to draw him from his error. But all his labour has been in vain, and hence arises the absolute necessity of these proceedings.

Gentlemen, the evidence which I have to bring

against this clergyman is of a somewhat complicated nature, since it contains statements which seem to recognize the important doctrine for which the Bishop is so earnestly contending, namely, the invariable communication of spiritual Regeneration in and by Baptism. But slight as may appear the difference between the opinions of the Bishop and Mr. Hooker, their sentiments on the grand point will be found, after a close examination, to be "wide as the poles asunder." For instance, when Mr. Hooker states that "In our infancy we are incorporated into Christ, and by Baptism receive the grace of his Spirit without any sense or feeling of the gift which God bestoweth," you might suppose that he holds opinions on this doctrine similar to those of the Bishop of Exeter; but, alas! on comparing this passage with other parts of his writings, we find that he does not think that grace is given to all baptized infants without exception. So, when he says that "We are then believers, because then we begin to be that which process of time doth make perfect," it is too clear that he means, *we who have been predestinated to life.* And he defends the epithets, "faithful," "God's children," "elect," "regenerate," &c., not on the ground that all infants become regenerate, elect, God's children by Baptism, but because they are so accounted or regarded in the eye of the Church, even as adults are, for their profession's sake. Hence he says, that "if, without any fear or scruple, we may account them and term them believers only for their outward profession's sake, which inwardly are farther from faith than infants; why not infants much more at the time of their solemn initiation by Baptism, the sacrament of

faith, whereunto they not only conceive nothing opposite, but have also that grace given them, which is the first and most effectual cause out of which our belief groweth? In sum, the whole Church is a multitude of believers, all honoured with that title; even hypocrites for their profession's sake, as well as saints because of their inward sincere persuasion, and infants as being in the first degree of their ghostly motion towards the actual habit of faith: the first sort are faithful in the eye of the world; the second faithful in the sight of God; the last in the ready direct way to become both, if all things after become suitable to these their present beginnings." Although Mr. Hooker speaks in the highest terms of holy Baptism, and tells those who, "relying upon the bare conceit of their eternal election," neglect the means which God hath ordained, and walk not in the ways which He hath appointed, that they are blinded "by a self-deceiving vanity;" and informs them that even men who had "a preordination unto life" were, before their Baptism, "in the Apostle's own account, but children of wrath as well as others; plain aliens, altogether without hope; strangers, utterly without God in this present world:" and though he observes, that "as we are not naturally men without birth, so neither are we Christian men in the eye of the Church of God but by new birth; nor, according to the manifest ordinary course of divine dispensation, new born, but by that Baptism which both declareth and maketh us Christians. In which respect, we justly hold it to be the door of our actual entrance into God's House, the first apparent beginning of life, a seal perhaps to the grace of election

before received; but to our sanctification here, a step that hath not any before it." And again, "We are," Mr. Hooker says, "by baptism born anew; . . . . . by baptism we are admitted into the heavenly society of saints; . . . . . we receive new names, in token that by baptism we are made new creatures. . . . . As Christ hath therefore died and risen from the dead but once, so that sacrament which both extinguisheth in him our former sin, and beginneth in us a new condition of life, is by one only actual administration for ever available:" —although, I say, Mr. Hooker has written these and many other passages which, in some respects, greatly exalt the sacrament of Baptism; yet, Gentlemen, I am bound to tell you that they unfortunately contain the germ, the latent principle, of that full-blown heresy which other parties more unequivocally maintain—*the denial of invariable spiritual regeneration in and by baptism to infants.* For mark, Gentlemen, his language: "The last," that is, infants, "are in the ready direct way to become both," that is, faithful in the eye of the world and in the sight of God, "*if all things after be suitable.*" Here you see plainly, Gentlemen, that Mr. Hooker does not teach absolute unconditional regeneration in infant-baptism, as our Church teaches when she says, "Seeing now . . . that these children are regenerate;" but he intimates that we may charitably allow them that title just as we call "the whole Church a multitude of believers," although, doubtless, there are hypocrites as well as saints in the Church. He ought not to have used such language towards baptized infants. They are already faithful in the eye of the world and also in the sight of God, and not merely "in

the ready direct way to become both." For if their sins are forgiven, they are justified: if justified, they are faithful in the sight of God: and this our Church declares of all infants, without exception, who are baptized by her ministers, because she teaches that they "receive remission of original sin, together with the gift of spiritual regeneration." But Mr. Hooker will not allow that this can be pronounced absolutely respecting all baptized infants. Though he does not scruple to call every child who is admitted to baptism "regenerate," and a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven; yet he neutralizes all this by saying, that the child is so regarded *in the eye of the Church.* He will not positively affirm that it is so in God's sight. He does not, indeed, deny that the child *may* be regenerate in the sight of God also; and he thinks that we may indulge the hope that those who are not yet guilty of actual sin *may* be commencing the life of righteousness. He does not deny that a germ or seed *may* be planted by the Spirit of God which shall in process of time advance to maturity. He says that God's Providence "hath called them unto the first beginnings of eternal life, and presented them at the well-spring of New Birth, wherein original sin is purged, besides which sin there is no hindrance of their salvation known to us;" but he only says this, observe, on the charitable supposition that they are elect children. He believes that it is only the elect, or a certain number out of a multitude, who "receive the remission of their sins by spiritual regeneration;" and thus he virtually denies that fundamental Article of our Creed—"One Baptism for the remission of sins." He contradicts our

Church, which unequivocally teaches, that all infants do by the application of the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ, in and by Baptism, receive the grace of regeneration: and hence he clearly shows that he is unworthy to continue a minister of the Church of England.

At the conclusion of Mr. M'Kell's address, many an anxious countenance was turned towards that part of the Bar where the mild and amiable Hooker was placed. The spectators were evidently much prepossessed in favour of that pious, learned, meek, and single-minded clergyman. His pale but expressive countenance, however, showed no signs of fear or anxiety. He looked, indeed, somewhat sorrowful; but it was a sorrow tempered with humble resignation. And at the same time he showed a firm resolution to suffer anything rather than betray what he considered to be the cause of truth—rather than compromise a single principle of the Protestant Religion. In a few minutes his counsel, Mr. Walton, rose and addressed the jury.

Address of Mr. Hooker's Counsel.

Gentlemen,

It is not my intention to controvert the evidence which the learned counsel has brought forward against Mr. Hooker; for I am quite willing and ready to admit that he has, for the most part, drawn a fair inference from the passages which he has quoted, and

has satisfactorily shewn that my reverend friend's opinions greatly differ from those of the Bishop of Exeter. But admitting that Mr. Hooker denies the invariable and unconditional gift of regeneration to all infants in and by Baptism, is he therefore guilty of Heresy? Has he denied any fundamental doctrine of our holy religion? Has he contradicted the teaching of the Church of England? I confidently aver that none of these things can be justly laid to his charge. As to heresy, that is a matter so loosely defined, that it is difficult to know in what it really consists. The Church of Rome applied that term to almost every thing of which she disapproved. To speak against pilgrimages, to decry the mania for relics, to deny the necessity of auricular confession, to oppose the worship of images, or to insist on the right of laymen to read the Holy Scriptures, and many other things which we regard in a very different light, would be considered very atrocious heresies by the Church of Rome. But by a Statute of 1 Eliz., c. 1, some limit was put to the accusations of heresy, so that in future no matter or cause was to be adjudged as heresy, but only that which was heretofore adjudged to be such "by authority of the canonical Scriptures, or by some of the first four general councils, or by any other general council wherein the same was declared heresy by the express and plain words of the said canonical Scriptures, or such as hereafter shall be judged or determined to be heresy by the High Court of Parliament, with the assent of the clergy in the convocation."

Now my learned friend has not brought forward any evidence from the "canonical Scriptures," or from any

of "the first four general councils," that it is heretical to deny the unconditional efficacy of infant-baptism. He has assumed that the Church of England holds and teaches this doctrine; but what are the grounds of this assumption? A few isolated expressions in the Formularies of our Church, which the learned counsel for the defence has already shewn have no such meaning as the Bishop of Exeter attaches to them. But in order to support so grave a charge as that of heresy, evidence the most clear and unequivocal ought to have been brought forward from the Articles of our Church—the code of doctrine by which every religious opinion of its members, and particularly its ministers, ought to be tried. As these Articles were carefully drawn up, and are allowed to be agreeable to the canonical Scriptures, the learned counsel was surely bound to show that Mr. Hooker holds opinions repugnant to some doctrine there enunciated. But he has not done this. He has indeed *inferred* that the denial of unconditional regeneration in baptism to all infants, is equivalent to the denial of an Article of the Nicene Creed—"I believe one baptism for the remission of sins;" but it is easy to show that such an inference is most fallacious. A man may firmly hold this Article of the Creed, and yet refuse to believe that all who are baptized in infancy have had their sins forgiven. What is Baptism? Not merely the outward washing. It consists of two parts: Water, wherein persons are baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity, and the inward and spiritual grace. By which of these is sin taken away? Not by water, for then every hypocritical professor who is baptized would receive forgiveness of sins; but by spiritual regenera-

tion. This is the inward grace which purges the soul from sin, whether original or actual. This is the Baptism, and not the outward washing, "which saveth us." 1 *Peter* i. 21. This is the "one baptism for the remission of sins."

The outward sign is also necessary, because God hath commanded it to be received. It is, as the twenty-seventh Article of our Church states, "a sign of profession and mark of difference whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened," and "by which, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the Church." These words—"they that receive baptism rightly"—shew that the outward visible sign is not invariably accompanied by the inward and spiritual grace. It has been repeatedly asserted that our Church unequivocally teaches that there is remission of original sin to all infants in and by the grace of holy Baptism. Gentlemen, the Church of England teaches no such doctrine. It is merely an inference which some divines have thought themselves justified in drawing from the language of our Church in the Baptismal Office. Observe what that language is. Prayer is made on behalf of those who are about to be baptized, whether infants or adults, "that they may receive remission of their sins by spiritual regeneration;" but it is not stated that original sin is remitted "by the grace of baptism." It would be just as correct and reasonable to infer that the sin of Abraham, whether original or actual, was remitted by the grace of circumcision. The expression in the Creed—"one baptism for the remission of sins"—is derived from certain passages of Scripture: "One faith, one

baptism;" "Repent and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins;" "Arise, and be baptized and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord." It will be conceded that "one baptism for the remission of sins" cannot signify more than is intended by these passages. To whom then are they addressed? Who are the persons exhorted to come to the sacrament of Baptism? The penitent and believing. But if they have faith and repentance they are already pardoned: their sins are already washed away by the blood of Christ applied to them by faith. How then can they wash away their sins by Baptism? They do that to the eye of man which has before been done in the sight of God. They openly and publicly receive the sign and seal of that grace of spiritual regeneration which God had already conferred upon them.

It is said that "with the mouth confession is made unto (or, *for*, εἰς) salvation;" shall we therefore maintain that in and by the act of confession a man is saved? Is it not evident from the context that it means, that such confession is a sign that the confessor, who with his heart "believeth unto righteousness," is in a state of salvation? For neither confession nor baptism is the cause, but the effect, of grace. "Be baptized and wash away thy sins," therefore, signifies, "Make it manifest to the world, by going to that outward washing which God hath appointed, that thou art inwardly cleansed by the blood of Christ. The outward sign has some resemblance to the inward and spiritual grace, and is in consequence often spoken of as the thing which it signifies. "If sacraments, saith Augustine,

had not a certain similitude of those things whereof they be sacraments, they should be no sacraments at all. And of this similitude they do for the most part receive the names of the selfsame things they signify." And here I beg, Gentlemen of the jury, particularly to call your attention to a passage from the writings of that venerable Bishop and Martyr, Dr. Hooper, in illustration of this matter. Alluding to the ancient Christian writers, Bishop Hooper observes: "They thought it best to name the sacraments by the name of the thing (which) was represented by the sacrament. Yet in many places of their writings they so interpretate themselves, that no man, except he will be wilfully blind, can say but they understood the sacrament to signify, and not to be the thing signified; to confirm, and not to exhibit grace; to help, and not to give faith; to seal, and not to win the promise of God, Rom. iv.; to shew what we be before the use of them, and not to make us the thing we declare to be after them; to shew we are Christ's; to shew we be in grace, and not by them to be received into grace; to shew we be saved, and not yet to be saved by them; to shew we be regenerated, and not to be regenerated by them: thus the old doctors meant." Hence you may see, Gentlemen, that "Baptism for the remission of sins" is so called, because it signifies the remission of sins: "the washing of regeneration," because it signifies that washing, not that it actually washes away sin, or regenerates.

Can it, then, be fairly affirmed that they who deny that in and by the act of Baptism, sin, whether original or actual, is washed away, oppose this Article of our

Creed—"One Baptism for the remission of sins?" They believe it as firmly as their accusers, and in a sense far more scriptural, because they attach that very meaning to the Article, which it undoubtedly has in those passages of God's Word from which it is taken.

This will be still more evident, if you consider that "remission of sins" is equivalent to the term justification. "We are accounted righteous," says our eleventh Article, "before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by Faith, and not for our own works or deservings: Wherefore that we are justified by Faith only is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification." Let us now see what the Homily to which the Article refers says on this point. I must, however, observe that the title of this Homily is not "Of Justification," but "Of the Salvation of Mankind." "No man," it is stated in this Homily, can "by his own acts, works, and deeds (seem they never so good,) be justified, and made righteous before God: but every man of necessity is constrained to seek for another righteousness, or justification, to be received at God's own hands: that is to say, the forgiveness of his sins and trespasses, in such things as he hath offended. And this justification, or righteousness, which we so receive of God's mercy and Christ's merits, embraced by faith,"—not by Baptism, observe, Gentlemen, but by *Faith*,—"is taken, accepted, and allowed of God, for our perfect and full justification."

"Remission of sins," then, or justification, is given to those who truly believe. Scripture, no less than our Church, clearly and unequivocally enunciates this

doctrine. "Therefore we conclude," says the Apostle Paul, "that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law. . . . For what saith the Scriptures? Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness. . . . Be it known unto you therefore, men and brethren, that through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins: and by him all that believe are justified from all things from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses."

"Remission of sins," therefore, whether original or actual, is not conferred by the grace of Baptism, but by the grace of God; and Baptism is the sign and seal to assure the faithful that their sins are forgiven; yea, it is an effectual sign of grace, as the twenty-fifth and twenty-seventh Articles of our Church declare, and of "God's good will towards us, by the which He doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in Him," and by which "the promises of forgiveness, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed."

Were our Church to teach, as some affirm, that original sin is remitted to *infants* by the merits of Christ being applied to them by *Baptism;* while she teaches that *adults* are justified, or have remission of sins, by faith, which applies to the believer that atoning blood "by which alone we obtain remission of our sins and are made partakers of the kingdom of heaven," she would be most inconsistent. This would be teaching, that baptism is to infants what faith is to adults. This would be to substitute an outward sign for an inward grace. It would be to make that effectual in

the case of infants, which has confessedly no wholesome effect on adults, if they are without faith. She would by such teaching contradict that fundamental doctrine—that *articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ*—justification by faith alone, and show that she was no longer a Scriptural Church—the Church of the Reformation. But, Gentlemen, this is not her doctrine. "Infants," she says, "being baptized and dying in their infancy, are"—What?—"washed from their sins, brought to God's favour, and made his children and inheritors of his kingdom of heaven." How do they obtain these blessings? By Baptism, says the Bishop of Exeter. No, replies our Church, in her Homily; not by Baptism, but "*by this sacrifice*,"—by the most precious blood of our Saviour Christ. Our Church is precluded from admitting the doctrine that either infants or adults are justified, or have their sins remitted by any sacrament, unless this is taught in the Bible. That such a doctrine is repugnant to the teaching of the New Testament, I have already shown; and it may be as easily and briefly proved to be contrary to the Old Testament. Let us refer to the initiatory sacrament under the Old Dispensation. Do we find that Abraham was justified, or received remission of his sins, by the grace of circumcision? No. Circumcision was to him a seal and pledge to confirm and assure him that his sins were remitted—a seal of the righteousness which he had, through faith, before he was circumcised. To his infant descendants it was the seal and pledge of their justification, whenever they should have faith. In both cases it was faith which justified, while the sacrament was the sign and seal.

And under the New, or Christian Dispensation, we are justified by the same means—faith alone. For baptism hath succeeded circumcision; and in the case both of infants and adults there is but "one baptism for the remission of sins." To both it is a sign and pledge of their justification by faith; but to neither is it an effectual sign, should they never have faith. The "promises of forgiveness of sin and of our adoption to be the sons of God are *visibly* signed and sealed" by this sacrament; and as these promises are made to believers *and their children*, infants are very properly brought into covenant with God by baptism. But to say that they are absolutely and unconditionally endowed with the blessings of that covenant, is totally to destroy the very nature of a covenant, which implies conditions.

As to the guilt of original sin imputed to us through our connection with the first Adam, is it not taken away by the imputation of the righteousness of the second Adam? Although its sad effects remain, and are manifest in that corrupt nature and mortality which we derive from our common ancestor; yet we may surely hope and believe that infants, who never have sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression, dying before they are capable of actual transgression, are all benefited by the imputation of Christ's righteousness, regenerated by the Holy Spirit, and thus made fit to enter into God's blessed kingdom. Do those who think that baptism actually, rather than symbolically and sacramentally, washes away original sin, agree with the Roman Church, "that children dying unbaptized are excluded the grace of God for ever?"

If so, I would address them in the words of Archbishop Wake: "To what purpose this? For what benefit? Were it as evident as it is indeed uncertain, and we are persuaded false, our modesty is safe in deciding nothing; the error of such among us as believe it not, is charitable; founded upon the sure mercies and goodness of God, who never inflicts any punishment where there is no fault; and, in a word, has not any the least ill consequences upon it. We take as great care to baptize our infants as you can, who most believe it. But now, if your opinion should be false, what answer will you ever be able to make to God, for peremptorily defining what was so uncertain and uncharitable."

The Church of England presumes not to determine what Scripture has left undetermined; and therefore she has not decided what are the actual effects of infant-baptism. Since, then, neither the Bible nor our Church has decided this question, it is surely too much for the Bishop of Exeter to expect, that his interpretation of a few words in the Baptismal Service should be henceforth the ruled doctrine of the Church of England, and that all clergymen who differ from his Lordship on this point shall be ejected from their spiritual cures. I therefore confidently anticipate, Gentlemen of the jury, a favourable decision for my reverend and learned friend, Mr. Hooker; I feel persuaded that you will soon agree as to the verdict to be returned, and that your verdict will be—NOT GUILTY.

Mr. Counsellor Taunton now rose, in order to substantiate the charge of Heresy against the Rev. Charles Simeon. The following is the substance of his address to the jury; but he spoke with such rapidity that it was no easy task to follow the learned gentleman, and therefore it is very possible that some of his observations may have been misunderstood. It is, however, in the main tolerably accurate. It was whispered in Court, that his Brief had been revised and corrected by the Bishop himself: but this was merely the conjecture of some of the hearers, who thought that they recognized a few of his Lordship's favourite expressions.

Address of Counsel for the Prosecution.

Gentlemen of the Jury,

Before I produce my evidence in support of the charge against the reverend Charles Simeon, for teaching publicly and privately the heretical doctrine that all infants are not absolutely and unconditionally regenerated in and by baptism, I wish to offer a few remarks on the strange assertion made by the learned counsel who has just concluded his address. He stated at the end of his speech, that neither the Church of England nor Holy Scripture had determined anything as to the efficacy of infant-baptism. On hearing this bold assertion, I thought I must have misunderstood my learned brother; and therefore I inquired of two or three of my learned friends around me what their impression was; and, sorry am I to say, that their answers removed from my mind all doubt upon the

subject. The statement was certainly made. Yes, Gentlemen of the jury, in open defiance of a Rubric of our Church, the learned counsel has not scrupled to maintain that Scripture, and, consequently, the Church of England, has not determined the actual effect of infant-baptism. Surely he had forgotten the Rubric to which I allude, or, perhaps, it has altogether escaped his notice, as it is placed at the end of the Baptismal Service. And really, Gentlemen, there is, I think, good reason to conclude that my learned brother did not observe it; and I will add that, under his circumstances, some little excuse may be offered for him. For on reading that Service he would find many expressions so completely opposed to the view which he has undertaken to defend, that his attention would be fully occupied, and his thoughts bewildered by the difficulties of his position. Notwithstanding his well-known skill in overcoming difficulties; and although he might possibly surmount two or three mole-hills at the commencement of the course which he had undertaken to run; yet on finding, as he advanced, Alps rising on Alps, I am not surprised that he stopped in dismay, and, consequently, never saw the chief mountain, which, had he scrambled over all the others, would have effectually arrested his career. I beg then, Gentlemen, to read this Rubric, or rather declaration of our Church, which you will find in your Prayer Books, as a Postscript to the Baptismal Service. It is as follows, and I think that my learned friend will scarcely be able to lift up his blushing face after he has heard it: "It is certain by God's Word that children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are

undoubtedly saved." What says my learned friend to this Rubric? Does it or does it not state, that Scripture, while it declares the general necessity of baptism, determines not the actual effect of infant-baptism? Will my learned brother say that it does not? I should be sorry to deem it possible that he will. I should deeply regret to find that prejudice had so blinded the learned counsel, that he could not see so plain and unequivocal testimony as this against the doctrine which he has undertaken to support. It is so important, that I should like to have an answer given, and given plainly without delay. Gentlemen, I will pause for a reply. The Bar, in the estimation of which my learned friend holds so deservedly high a place, has a right to expect an answer, and I doubt not he will give it with the frankness which belongs to him.

The learned counsel here paused and looked around. To his astonishment, he met nothing but countenances in which there appeared evident struggles to suppress rising laughter. The reason was soon explained. His learned brother, to whom he made this eloquent and, as he appeared to think, withering and unanswerable appeal, was not present. He had been called out of Court just as Mr. Counsellor Taunton began his speech, and, consequently, had not heard a word of it. This fact was communicated in a whisper to the learned gentleman, who appeared at first rather annoyed; but soon recovering his composure, he proceeded as follows:—

Gentlemen, as my learned friend is absent, I must appeal to yourselves whether it is reasonable—I had almost said honest or justifiable—to declare in the face of this Rubric, that our Church denies the invariable

regeneration of baptized infants. For observe, Gentlemen, where this Rubric is found. It is placed immediately after the Office, in which several portions of *God's Word* had been cited—"Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." "Almighty God of His great mercy did save Noah and his family in the ark from perishing by water, and also did safely lead the children of Israel, His people, through the Red Sea, figuring thereby His holy *baptism;* and by the baptism of His well-beloved Son Jesus Christ in the river Jordan, did sanctify water to the mystical washing away of sin." Again: "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God; verily I say unto you, whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein." It is, I say, after these citations of God's Word, and after the Office had declared that the baptized child *was regenerate*—after, in the same Office, the thanks of the Church are given to God that it *had pleased Him to regenerate this infant* with His Holy Spirit, to receive him for His own child by adoption, and to incorporate him into His holy Church—it is *immediately* after these words that the Rubric declares, "It is certain by God's Word that children," which have received such mighty promises and blessings—in other words, "which have been *baptized*, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved." It has been observed that this rubric does not state that children which are baptized, dying in their infancy, are "undoubtedly saved" *by baptism.* How, then, and by what are they saved? But it is superfluous to argue such a matter. The case

is too plain to be denied. Our Church speaks in absolute, categorical, direct terms. She declares that God has wrought a mighty work in the baptized child—has made him to be "born anew of water and of the Spirit." Whether God has wrought such a work, is a question of fact, on which no serious mind would dare to speak thus positively without sufficient warrant. The Church declares that we have such warrant in the words of Scripture, which she cites in the Offices of Baptism of Infants; and she requires her ministers, therefore, to speak accordingly. *Faith* has here much to exercise it; but not *charity*, except indeed in rejoicing at the great benefit thus given to the unconscious babe.

Again: let us look to the declarations to be made by the child in the Catechism—"In baptism I was made a member of Christ and a child of God;" and "I heartily thank our heavenly Father that He hath called me to this state of salvation." Now what has charity to do with these declarations, to be made by the child concerning his own state? They are either true or false: if true, the Church does well in teaching him to know his high privileges, since they must carry with them corresponding duties—the first of which is humble thankfulness to the Divine Giver; but, if false, the Church begins her education with teaching her children to use towards God the language, not of truth, but of falsehood, combined with the most hideous presumption.

I will now lay before you, Gentlemen, the most convincing evidence, that the reverend Charles Simeon holds a doctrine on the subject of infant-baptism, which is completely opposed to the plain and unequi-

vocal teaching of the Church of England. You are aware how many books this gentleman has published. You are aware that thousands of the clergy, and hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of the laity, have been indoctrinated with his sentiments. It is not, indeed to be denied that his zealous and indefatigable labours, both in the pulpit and in the press, together with his undoubted piety and disinterested liberality—nay, I freely allow, that the whole tenor of his life affords all the evidence that man can expect or desire, that it has ever been his one great aim to promote the glory of God and the best interests of mankind. Such a man naturally possesses very extensive influence. But, alas! if he hold erroneous doctrine, this extended influence will render him only the more dangerous. His errors will be propagated through the length and breadth of the land. The Church, therefore, and our common Christianity, are under very heavy obligations to the venerable Prelate, who, in spite of reproach and calumny, and every kind of misrepresentations, has determined to drive, if possible, from the pale of our Apostolic Church, all such maintainers of unsound doctrine.

A cursory reader of Mr. Simeon's writings would naturally suppose that their tendency was towards that object at which the writer professed to be, and, most likely, which he himself conscientiously believed that he was, aiming, namely, to humble the sinner, to exalt the Saviour, and to promote holiness of life. But great and praiseworthy as this object unquestionably is, you must allow, Gentlemen, that it is not likely to be attained by propagating doctrines which our Church

condemns; especially that most pernicious and fatal doctrine—the *conditional* regeneration of baptized infants. A person might read a large portion of this gentleman's works without detecting his heterodoxy on this point; for it must be acknowledged that Mr. Simeon appears in some passages to concur with the Bishop of Exeter's interpretation. He states, for instance, after quoting a passage from the Baptismal Service: "From hence it appears that, *in the opinion of our Reformers, regeneration and remission of sins did accompany baptism.*" And he defends the language of that Service as being entirely scriptural, and accuses those persons of inconsistency who scruple to use the Baptismal Offices. He says, "The only question is, *not*, 'Whether a baptized person can be saved by that ordinance without sanctification,' but whether God does *always* accompany the sign with the thing signified? Here (he says) is certainly room for difference of opinion, *but it cannot be positively decided in the negative*, because we cannot know or even judge respecting it in any case whatever, except by the fruits that follow; and therefore in all fairness it may be considered only as a doubtful point." Had Mr. Simeon written no more than this, he would not have been placed in his present position: for he does not deny, in this passage, that the thing signified, namely, the inward and spiritual grace *may* always accompany the sign, although he evidently inclines to the contrary opinion. Still as he does not here positively oppose the doctrine of our Church, but allows that there *may* be a germ or seed sown in the heart of every baptized infant; and as he quotes the words of St. Peter, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in

the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost: for the promise is unto you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call:" and another passage of the same Apostle: —"The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us:" and that part of his second Epistle where Peter speaks of baptized persons neglecting to improve the grace given to them, and forgetting that they were purged from their old sins:—as, I say, Mr. Simeon maintains that these passages "very strongly countenance the idea which our Reformers entertained, that the remission of our sins, and the regeneration of our souls, is attendant on the baptismal rite;" and as, moreover, he is so candid as to state that he thinks "the refinements of Calvin have done great harm in the Church," that "they have driven multitudes from the plain and popular way of speaking used by the inspired writers, and have made them unreasonably and unscripturally squeamish in their modes of expression;" I think it highly probable that the Right Reverend Prelate would not have commenced these proceedings against Mr. Simeon, but would have charitably hoped that in time he might have been led to embrace the orthodox opinion.

Unhappily, however, in his succeeding writings this gentleman has used language which is clearly and unquestionably repugnant to the doctrine taught by our Church. His words I will now read to you, as they form the ground of the present charge against this reverend gentleman. Mr. Simeon tells his readers that, when a man is regenerate, he loves what God loves, and

hates what God hates, habitually prays and uses his best endeavours, that he may live and do as God commands; that he, consequently, abhors sin in all its ramifications, and loathes himself for having ever committed so detestable a thing; that he loves holy things, so as to make them the objects of his continual and most earnest pursuit; that in relation to every thing that is holy and heavenly, he seeks to have the same mind that was in Christ Jesus; that he knows and feels that he must come to Christ as a weary and heavy-laden sinner, for wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption; and must glory, not in any human strength or goodness, but wholly and exclusively in the Lord Jesus Christ; that these views and these principles will not rest as mere notions in the head, but will be wrought into the heart, and exhibited in the whole life and conversation of the regenerate man. This change he declares to be that new birth of which St. Paul speaks in his second Epistle to the Corinthians, and which our Blessed Saviour informed Nicodemus was necessary to salvation. All this, you will say, Gentlemen, is very good and very scriptural; although you may probably be inclined to think that, if such be the character of the regenerate—such his views, feelings, objects, and pursuits—then a vast proportion of those who were baptized in infancy have never exhibited any signs of the great change which was effected in them, and must therefore have lost their baptismal purity. Be this as it may, I can confidently state, that had Mr. Simeon only allowed that, in baptism, that great operation, which produces these fruits and is therefore called the new birth unto righteousness,

always takes place in the souls of baptized infants, his language on this point, though rather too strong, would not have subjected him to this prosecution. But he denies that such a change is always effected in infants at Baptism. While he allows that "infants dedicated to God in baptism *may* and sometimes *do* (though in a way not discoverable by us, except by the fruits) receive a new nature from the Spirit of God *in*, and *with*, and *by* that ordinance," he does not believe that this gift is generally, still less can he think that it is *always*, conferred on baptized infants. Nay, he strongly avows that it is a fundamental error to hold, that "all persons"—and I conclude that he considers it equally erroneous to say that *all infants*—"do *necessarily* by a divine appointment receive the Holy Ghost in such a manner and degree as really to be changed in the spirit of their minds, into the very image of God in righteousness and true holiness, and so to partake of the Divine nature, *that they never need afterwards to seek so great a change.*" Here then you see, Gentlemen, that Mr. Simeon not only denies the doctrine of unconditional regeneration in infant-baptism, but charges those who hold it as maintaining a fundamental, a fatal, error.

There is another very serious error entertained by this gentleman, to which I beg to call your attention. He absolutely attributes more to prayer than to the act of baptism, although the latter is of Divine institution. Is not this to detract from the honour of that sacred ordinance? Is not this to maintain that far greater benefits are obtained by faith and prayer than by partaking of the sacrament? This is the passage in which Mr. Simeon

maintains such a very objectionable tenet: "In many instances, where the ordinance is really attended upon in faith, and prayer is offered up to God in faith, we do believe that God bestows a peculiar blessing on the child; and though we cannot ascertain that he does so but by the fruits that are afterwards produced, yet are we warranted from Scripture to believe, that the effectual fervent prayer of righteous people shall not go forth in vain."

Thus is the efficacy of *vicarious prayer* substituted for that of the sacraments, "which be effectual because of Christ's institution and promise," as our twenty-sixth Article declares. What a heresy is here unblushingly proclaimed! What a dishonour to the sacraments! It is rank Popery—and worse than Popery! The Council of Trent makes recourse to other intercessors and mediators with God, than Christ, to be no more than "a pious and useful" practice: Mr. Simeon makes it necessary to salvation! Gentlemen of the jury, I know not what *your* feelings may be on hearing the statement which I have just now read; but as to myself I am quite horrified on reading it. I stand aghast when I find that this dangerous opinion has been, and is, inculcated by a clergyman who has such extensive influence! And certainly the shock is not lightened when I read the following passages from a sermon by the same writer: "We will yet further confirm what has been said, by two or three passages of Scripture, which bear directly upon the question, and shew us the danger of listening to such delusions as are set in opposition to the truth which we are insisting on. 'All are not Israel,' says St. Paul, 'who are of Israel,' or, in other words, all are not

true Christians who are nominally so. Again: 'In Christ Jesus, neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature.' Here substitute the term baptism for the corresponding rite of circumcision, and you have in one single sentence every word that we have spoken. Once more: 'He is not a Jew who is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision, which is outward in the flesh: but he is a Jew who is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men but of God.' Can there be plainer language than this?" Mr. Simeon asks: and then he proceeds to shew what may be the consequences of believing in absolute and unconditional regeneration—a tenet which he has the daring presumption to call "*a delusion!*" "We may laugh at the new birth," he says, by which term you will observe, Gentlemen, that he means not the great change which is effected by baptism in the souls of infants, but that which takes place when persons "truly repent and unfeignedly believe the Gospel." "We may laugh at the new birth, and persuade ourselves that we have no need to be alarmed at the declarations of the Lord Jesus Christ in relation to it; but we cannot make him open the kingdom of heaven to us when once the door is shut: we may knock, and say, Lord, I thought my baptism was sufficient: but he will say, 'Depart, I never knew you.'" But enough, Gentlemen of the jury—more than enough, has been adduced to prove that the reverend Charles Simeon has uttered an essential, complete denial and contradiction of the doctrine of Holy Scripture and the Church concerning baptism. He makes a complete separation of the special grace of the

sacrament of Baptism from the sacrament itself. You can have no doubt of the astounding fact now that you have heard his written and published statements. And I should think it an insult to your understandings, Gentlemen, to offer any further evidence or argument in so plain a matter. You cannot but know what is the unequivocal teaching of our Church on this point; and you have had abundant evidence to prove how different is the doctrine which Mr. Simeon holds and teaches. It remains therefore for you to say, whether a clergyman who thus deliberately opposes a fundamental doctrine of our Church—a doctrine maintained by the whole Catholic Church from the time of the Apostles to the present period—shall be allowed any longer to pervert the sheep which assemble together in the fold of the Church of England.

The learned counsel sat down at the conclusion of his speech: and after a few moments, Mr. Wright, Q.C., the gentleman retained on behalf of the reverend Charles Simeon, stood up and thus addressed the jury.

Address of Mr. Simeon's Counsel.

Gentlemen,

The evidence which my learned brother has laid before you affords you a sufficient insight into the sentiments of Mr. Simeon. After hearing the passages

from his writings which have just been read, you cannot doubt—no one can doubt—that, although he does not deny that infants *may* be regenerated in baptism, he altogether denies that this is always the case. He believes that baptism and regeneration have no necessary and inseparable connection; but that many are baptized with water who are never regenerated by the Spirit of God; and that many are regenerated, have their sins remitted, and become the adopted children of God before, and, consequently, without baptism. But does Mr. Simeon therefore derogate from the honour and dignity of that sacred ordinance? By no means. If you read his works, you will find that he always speaks in the highest terms of baptism; insists upon the duty and privilege of bringing children to the font, and thus dedicating them to God's service; and warns those parents who despise or neglect that holy institution of our Blessed Saviour, that they are either guilty of a presumptuous disobedience to an express command, or are labouring under a great delusion. Yes, Gentlemen, Mr. Simeon will be found invariably honouring the sacraments, although he does not and will not make them substitutes for the Saviour. He will not exalt them to a higher place than Scripture hath assigned to them. He cannot consider the sign and seal as the things which they signify, or as invariably and unconditionally accompanied by the blessings of which they are witnesses. In short, my reverend friend places neither a higher nor a lower estimate on the sacrament of Baptism, than that which our Church hath fixed. Believing that she maintains, with respect to it as well as the other sacrament, the golden mean between the

superstitious use and the irreverent neglect or undervaluing of the sacraments, manifested by Romanists, on the one hand, and certain denominations of Christians, on the other, he is warmly attached to her views, and never hesitates to contend earnestly for them against all opponents. Even in the few passages which my learned brother adduced from Mr. Simeon's writings, you would see that my reverend friend has not formed opinions for which he cannot render a good reason. The very evidence which was brought forward to condemn him tends much more to his justification, and causes the charge of heresy to recoil on his Right Reverend Prosecutor.

My learned brother, however, flatters himself that he has brought forward unanswerable testimony to prove, that our Church teaches that very doctrine which Mr. Simeon denies, namely, the absolute and unconditional regeneration of all baptized infants. At the commencement of his address he referred to a Rubric which he evidently supposes furnishes him with an unanswerable argument. He spoke in such triumphant terms, as if the victory was already achieved, and that all men must be convinced, by that Rubric, that our Church teaches the unconditional regeneration of baptized infants. And in answer to the observation that, although the Rubric states that baptized infants dying before they commit actual sin are undoubtedly saved, it does not assert that they are saved by baptism, the learned counsel asks—in a manner which intimates how absurd he thought such an observation—by what then are they saved? Now I will take the liberty of asking another question. Suppose the keeper of the prison where Paul and Silas

were confined, had, together with his family, been put to death by their heathen rulers because they had been baptized: and suppose the Apostle had endeavoured to console the bereaved relatives and friends of the jailor, by saying, "He and his children have been enrolled by baptism as Christ's faithful soldiers and servants, and have died in his service; ye need not doubt of their salvation:"—would my learned brother have concluded from this that they were saved by baptism? Would he ask, by what then were they saved? Could he seriously ask such a question? If he could, he must have entirely forgotten the answer returned to the jailor's anxious inquiry, "What must I do to be saved? And they said, Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thy house." Now what was baptism to this believing jailor? Not the means of saving him—not the fountain of his regeneration in the sight of God; for he was already saved and regenerated in God's sight by faith in Jesus Christ; but baptism was the sign and seal which manifested to others that he was regenerate, a child of God, and an heir of heaven. Baptism sealed the same blessings to his children, and testified before men, what they undoubtedly were in God's sight previous to their departure, if they died before they committed actual sin, that they were regenerate and fit for his heavenly kingdom.

Again, this Rubric cannot determine the actual effect of baptism on *all* infants, since it pertains only to those who die before they commit actual sin. It has no application to the millions who live to a responsible age. Had it, indeed, stated, that baptized infants dying before they commit actual sin are undoubtedly saved, and that

unbaptized infants who die before the age of reason are undoubtedly lost, my learned friend would have proved his point, namely, that our Church teaches the absolute and unconditional regeneration of all baptized infants. But this Rubric states no such thing. As Baptism is the appointed Divine ordinance by which persons are admitted into the Christian Covenant, and grafted into the Church of Christ, the family and household of God; and as the Church had seen the children, to which this Rubric pertains, thus admitted, she was justified in declaring that they are "undoubtedly saved." But their salvation depended not on the sacrament, but on the grace of God—on that inward and spiritual grace which fits the soul for heaven, and which, as we have seen in the case of believing adults, is always given before baptism; but which, in the case of infants, we have a right to infer, reasoning from analogy, may be given before, in, or after baptism. Why the Church speaks only of baptized infants in this Rubric is evident. It is for the comfort of bereaved parents; and she speaks thus confidently of their deceased children's salvation, because she had seen them enrolled among Christ's faithful people. She knows nothing of any others. They may be members of Christ, and children of God, as well as those who have been baptized; but the Church contents herself with speaking only of that which she hath seen, and testifying only of that which she hath known. It is as if she had said to parents mourning for the loss of their children: "You brought your infants to be baptized—you prayed that our Lord Jesus Christ would receive them, release them from their sins, sanctify them them with the Holy Ghost, and give them the kingdom

of heaven, and everlasting life; and you heard that our Lord Jesus Christ hath promised all these things that ye prayed for, which promise He for His part will most surely keep and perform; and, had your children lived, their part of the covenant ought to have been performed, namely, they ought to have renounced the Devil and all his works, the pomps and vanity of this wicked world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh, and constantly to have believed God's holy Word, and obediently to have kept His commandments; but as it hath pleased our heavenly Father to call them out of this world before they committed actual sin, doubt not but earnestly believe that He hath favourably received them, embraced them with the arms of His mercy, and given unto them the blessing of eternal life. He has said that 'of such is the kingdom of heaven,' and therefore it is certain by God's Word that they are undoubtedly saved."

To assert that children are saved by baptism in any other sense than that which the Apostle Peter means, namely, *figuratively*, is a manifest error:—"The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God,) by the resurrection of Jesus Christ." It represents that fountain of Immanuel's blood which was opened for sin and all uncleanness; but it can no more actually save us, than the partaking of the memorials of our Saviour's Cross and Passion can cleanse us from sin.

But let us try the argument founded on this Rubric, since so much weight seems to be attached to it, by applying it to the sign of regeneration in the Old

Testament Church. Circumcision, like baptism, was a sign and seal of an inward and spiritual grace. Under the Mosaic Dispensation bereaved parents would have been consoled by a declaration of the same import as this Rubric, namely, that circumcised children, dying before they committed actual sin, were undoubtedly saved. But had some Jewish Pharisee or Lawyer, who had the same notions of the efficacy of the sacraments as my learned friend appears to have, endeavoured to prove from such a declaration, that the inward and spiritual grace, or the circumcision of the heart, was always conferred on infants with the outward sign, an intelligent Israelite would easily have seen his error. We will suppose the Lawyer to have said: "Your children when circumcised, and dying in their infancy, are, in the opinion of the Church, undoubtedly saved. They must be circumcised—they must die before they commit actual sin, to bring them within that declaration of their being undoubtedly saved. Does not this clearly prove, that circumcision is the means by which that inward grace is conferred which fits them for a heavenly country; and that that grace—the circumcision of the heart—is always conferred on circumcised infants?" "No," the Israelite might have replied; "this declaration proves no such thing. It shows that the Church considers that the inward and spiritual grace has been conferred on our circumcised infants *who die in their infancy*, because she has seen the seal of that grace applied to those children; and as God hath called them away before the age of responsibility, she cannot doubt that He hath qualified them to enter His blessed kingdom. But I do not learn from the Scriptures that grace

is tied to the seal. Had God meant that the outward sign should always confer on infants the circumcision of the heart, He would have ordered all children to be circumcised as soon as they were born, instead of deferring that rite until they were eight days old. All infants who die before the eighth day must, therefore, be considered to have the inward grace given to them, which fits them for a better country, although the seal has not been applied; and we are thus led to the conclusion that the outward sign is not absolutely necessary to salvation. Had it been necessary, what shall we say respecting those children who were born and died in the wilderness, during the period of forty years, when the practice of circumcision was suspended? Shall we say that the uncircumcised children who then died before they came to a responsible age were lost —were for ever excluded from the heavenly Canaan? Such a supposition would be horrible. And that the inward grace is not always conferred on infants with the outward sign or seal, is evident from various passages in the Law and the Prophets. Many who had been circumcised in infancy, are spoken of as being still uncircumcised in heart, and are exhorted to seek for this inward and spiritual grace. Thus we find in the Book of Leviticus that God promises to remember His covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and will not utterly destroy the people although their iniquities may be great, "if their uncircumcised hearts be humbled, and they then accept of the punishment of their iniquity." And, by the prophet Jeremiah, God thus threatens the Israelites, who had not obeyed his voice, nor walked according to the covenant into which they

had entered by circumcision: "I will punish all them which are circumcised with the uncircumcised; Egypt, and Judah, and Edom, and the children of Ammon, and Moab, and all that are in the utmost corners, that dwell in the wilderness: for all these nations are uncircumcised, and all the house of Israel are uncircumcised in the heart." Hence it cannot be maintained that circumcision is the means of conferring always on infants the inward and spiritual grace.

The Christian who makes the Scriptures, and not the traditions and commandments of men, his supreme guide and rule, will answer the advocates of the doctrine of invariable regeneration in baptism, in nearly similar terms.

My learned friend has also referred to the Catechism of our Church, and intimated that every baptized child is there taught to declare, in absolute, categorical, and direct terms, that he was made in baptism a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven; and he asks, What has charity to do with such declarations made by the child concerning his own state? Would not a person baptized as an adult, I ask, be required by our Church to make the same answers previous to confirmation? And would not charity require us (unless the life and conversation of such persons forbade us from indulging the charitable hope) to believe that they were inwardly, and in the sight of God, what baptism had made them outwardly and in the eye of the Church? Whether these declarations are true or false is a point which the Church presumes not to determine. This is one of the secret things which belong to God alone. Man can judge only according to outward appearance. It is thus the Church

judgeth, and therefore she uses the language of faith, hope, and charity, respecting both the baptized infant and the baptized adult, and teaches both what high privileges pertain to them. But should she have judged too favourably of their condition, because she cannot read the heart, can she be justly accused of teaching her children to utter falsehoods to God? My learned friend must surely have been conversing with some well-meaning but ill-informed Dissenter, who has supplied him with this objection. Indeed, I remember to have heard a somewhat similar reason given by an Anabaptist for not conforming to the Church of England. "She teaches children to tell falsehoods!" The person to whom I allude had paid but little attention to the Old Testament, or he would have found that the Israelites entered into covenant with God, "they and their little ones," and that in virtue of that covenant they were called God's peculiar people. Their children, consequently, were taught, as soon as they were able to learn, what were their privileges and duties as the children of God. But I never heard that the Israelites were accused of teaching their children to utter falsehoods, because they taught them to call themselves what they were entitled to do by covenant—God's people. Nor can I understand how the Church can be justly charged with teaching what is not true, because she regards those children who have been admitted into the Christian Covenant, as members of Christ and children of God, and requires them to be trained up as inheritors of the kingdom of heaven. The language she teaches is surely proper for all who are Christians. They who are grafted into the Church

by baptism are by name and profession Christians. Our Church, therefore, teaches all her members to use this language (unless, as I have just observed, their outward conduct belies their profession); and if any affirm with their lips what they know in their hearts to be false, the sin lieth at their own door. The "hideous presumption" rests on those who use the language suitable to the children of God, while they are conscious that they neither serve nor love God, but have their affections and desires set entirely on the things which they have promised to renounce. The same objection applies to every prayer in our Liturgy, and to every devout expression in the Psalter, which our congregations are in the habit of repeating. Our Church is guilty of "hideous presumption" because she provides such helps to devotion, since many who worship in her courts are not spiritual worshippers but mere formal professors! Nay, every father of a family and master of a household, who calls his children and servants around him, morning and evening, to offer their prayers and praises to God, is liable to the same accusation. As a servant of God, he uses language suitable to that character; but if some of his household repeat his words with their lips while their hearts are far from God, the master is chargeable with teaching them to utter falsehoods! And what will my learned brother say to that beautiful form of prayer which our Blessed Saviour taught his disciples? Will he say that the disciples ought not to have been taught it, because there was a Judas amongst them? Will he dare to accuse—but I pause: the supposition is too blasphemous to be entertained.

To me it is, I confess, utterly inexplicable how any intelligent person can carefully read the Catechism and Confirmation Service, in connection with the Offices of Baptism, and then deliberately conclude that charity has nothing to do with the language there employed. "The Office for baptizing infants," says Bishop Burnet, "is in the same words with that for persons of riper age; because infants being then in the power of their parents, who are of age, are considered as in them, and as binding themselves by the vows that they make in their name. Therefore the Office carries on the *supposition* of an internal regeneration."

The only matter of fact of which the Church can bear testimony is, the application of the outward sign and seal: of internal regeneration she can merely judge by the life and conversation of men, and even then her judgment is not infallible. To talk therefore of the Church dogmatically and absolutely determining a matter which God has nowhere revealed, is to attribute to her that "hideous presumption" of which she is assuredly guiltless. Every unprejudiced reader of her Formularies can hardly fail to see that the regeneration our Church speaks of must necessarily be conditional, and that she plainly teaches her members the *conditions* on which they were admitted into the Christian Covenant. And yet, after shewing what are required of all persons before they can be baptized, and accounted regenerate, namely, repentance and faith; and after telling us that infants, being unable to stipulate themselves, promise these things by their sureties; our Church, we are gravely informed, teaches that the highest blessing of this Covenant, regeneration, is abso-

lutely and unconditionally conferred! How inconsistent would such persons make our Church! A covenant without conditions is a nonentity. At Confirmation, those who entered into this covenant in infancy are again reminded of the *conditions* on which they were admitted, and solemnly asked whether they are willing to ratify the promises made in their names. They are now of an age to exercise repentance and faith, and, consequently, to manifest the fruits of that regeneration of which their baptism was the seal. They make openly that confession of faith, which, when made heartily, is a sure and effectual sign of regeneration. This outward profession—this confession of the mouth—is all that the Church can take cognizance of. The real state of the heart is a question left with the Searcher of hearts. But charity requires that the Church should believe the profession of its members to be sincere, and, consequently, that she should speak of them as regenerate—as under the sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit, and as "the elect people of God." I can see neither inconsistency, nor presumption, in our Church thus charitably regarding those who make an outward profession.

I have now to notice the accusation, that Mr. Simeon derogates from the Sacrament of Baptism, because he intimates that, when the ordinance is really attended upon in faith, and parents and sponsors offer up faithful and earnest prayer, he believes that a peculiar blessing may rest upon the baptized child. All this, my learned friend seems to think, is a work of supererogation; for he says that the efficacy of baptism depends, not upon prayer, but, upon Christ's institution and promise. Mr.

Simeon never dreamed of substituting "the efficacy of *vicarious* prayer" for that of the sacraments. But before I explain what my reverend friend really means, I must notice a mistake into which the learned counsel has fallen respecting sacraments being "effectual because of Christ's institution and promise." Had the learned counsel carefully examined the twenty-sixth Article, from which he quotes this expression, he would have found that it does not teach that sacraments are effectual from the mere performance of them (*ex opere operato*) upon all infants; but merely affirms that the *unworthiness of ministers* hinders not the effect of the sacraments in those "who by faith and rightly do receive" them. On such persons they will have a wholesome effect, "because of Christ's institution and promise, although they be ministered by evil men." It does not enter into the question of the efficacy of baptism, either in children who die in infancy, or in those who live to a responsible age.

As to the accusation of substituting *vicarious* prayer for the efficacy of the sacraments, few words will be sufficient to shew the futility of such a charge. What could my learned friend have been thinking about when he so strangely interpreted—not to say, perverted—the passage which he quoted? It is not *vicarious*, but *intercessory* prayer, which Mr. Simeon is recommending. And, surely, such kind of prayer is most scriptural, most valuable, and such as we are daily called upon to exercise. St. Paul frequently requests the prayers and intercessions of the Christians to whom he addresses his Epistles: and our Church has recourse to intercessory prayer in her Liturgy and Offices, and more

especially in the Baptismal Offices. Whenever children or adults are about to be baptized, the whole congregation is exhorted to join in intercessory prayer for those who come to this holy ordinance. My learned brother has evidently mistaken what is one of our highest privileges and duties, for a practice which is opposed alike to reason and to Scripture. In truth, "when we recognize vicarious prayer," as an eminent Prelate observes, "we touch upon one of the most irrational and debasing errors of the Church of Rome. The vicarious worship of the Jewish ritual was sacrifice, not prayer. The High Priest entered into the holy of holies, and made atonement for the sins of the people who stood without, as a type of the great sacrifice once made, and which only one could offer, when the just died for the unjust that he might bring us to God. But sacrifice is not prayer. Vicarious prayer was part of the corruption which overspread the Church, when human ambition discovered the power which it might obtain, if it could use religion as a ladder to climb up by."

From this extract from the charge of a venerable and universally respected Prelate, my learned friend, it is to be hoped, will be led to see what a mistake he has made —a mistake, however, which it must be allowed may be palliated in a *lawyer*, when even acute and learned divines have occasionally confounded the two kinds of prayer. I know indeed some divines who, though members and ministers of a Church differing essentially from that of Rome, verily believe that our Church teaches that *vicarious* worship may be offered to God—that if a clergyman read the daily service, provided he do it in a Church, though not a soul in the parish may be present except

himself, it will be an acceptable worship, and will cover a multitude of the sins and negligences of his parishioners. But this is an error in which my reverend friend, Mr. Simeon, has no participation. He regards that, as well as the doctrine of invariable regeneration in and by infant-baptism, as an importation from Rome. He considers that both have the same tendency and object, namely, to exalt the priesthood by making ministers mediators; and to make our justification rest on mere outward performances.

My learned friend told you, at the conclusion of his address, that this notion, which the Bishop of Exeter would exalt into a ruled doctrine of the Church of England, has been always held by the Catholic or Universal Church, even from the time of the Apostles. He has offered no evidence to prove this; but, following the prudent course of the advocates of Popery, he has assumed that this is a matter incapable of contradiction. This is, in effect, the sort of reasoning by which he endeavours to establish his point. The doctrine of invariable and unconditional regeneration in infant-baptism has ever been held by the Catholic Church: the Catholic Church is infallible: therefore this doctrine must be true. Again, every true branch of the Catholic Church must hold this fundamental doctrine; but the Church of England is a true branch of the Catholic Church, therefore the Church of England must hold this doctrine. This is, doubtless, a very short and easy way of satisfying those persons who are content to take assertions for evidence. I beg, however, to meet the learned counsel's assertion by another of quite an opposite character, which is this,—that no

pure branch of the Catholic Church ever did or can hold this doctrine; and thus I prove it:—The Catholic Church holds no doctrine as fundamental, or necessary to be believed, which is not to be found in Holy Scripture; but the doctrine that all infants receive spiritual regeneration unconditionally in baptism, is not found in Holy Scripture: therefore such doctrine is not, and never was, held by the Catholic Church. No pure branch of the Catholic Church can hold this doctrine; but the Church of England is a pure branch of the Catholic Church: therefore the Church of England cannot hold this doctrine.

This fond conceit, like many other false doctrines, crept into the Church of Rome during that dark period, when the Scriptures were no longer appealed to as the standard of doctrine, and was afterwards, by the Council of Trent, added as another link to that chain of unscriptural doctrines, by which so many millions are retained captives to that corrupt Church. It is an essentially Popish doctrine; and although some persons who hold it shrink from the avowal that this is the case, and timidly whisper that it only "approximates to the *opus operatum* of the Roman Church;" others, amongst whom stands pre-eminent the Bishop of Exeter, maintain boldly that, so far as infants are concerned, "we are agreed with Rome"—that in and by the act of baptism, remission of sins and spiritual regeneration are absolutely and unconditionally conferred. This doctrine, I repeat, never was held by the Catholic Church. If my learned friend had ventured to produce passages from early Christian writers which seemed to favour this doctrine, I could have confronted them with others from

the same writers which manifestly contradict it. What then is to be done when doctors disagree? When they differ, not only from others, but from themselves? We must do that which those pious and learned men recommend in such cases—strike every doctrine which fallible men propound, by the Sword of the Spirit: we must bring everything to the standard of God's Word. Let this be done, Gentlemen, and I have no fear as to the result. I am fully persuaded that this doctrine receives no countenance whatever from Holy Scripture, and, therefore, that it cannot be held by our Church. And, since that Church declares, in her sixth Article, that "Whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation," no clergyman can be justly ejected from his cure for denying a doctrine which Scripture does not sanction: it follows that my reverend friend, Mr. Simeon, is entitled to a verdict in his favour.

At the conclusion of the learned counsel's address, the jury were permitted to retire to their room for half an hour. The Judge, and most of the barristers also, left the Court to take some refreshment. Amongst the audience earnest conversation was carried on, and various conjectures were hazarded, as to the result of the Trial. But the return of the Judge and jury within the allotted time caused immediate silence in the Court;

and then Mr. Counsellor Talleys, as counsel for the prosecution against the reverend Reginald Heber, rose and spoke as follows.

Address of Counsel for the Prosecution.

Gentlemen,

As it appears to be generally admitted that all the clergymen at the bar hold a doctrine which the Right Reverend Prelate, for whom I appear, considers repugnant to the plain and unequivocal teaching of the Church of England, it will be unnecessary for me to offer much evidence in support of the charge against the reverend Reginald Heber. When it is remembered from what place the heretical doctrine was delivered, for the holding of which he now stands at the bar; when you consider, Gentlemen, that it was from the University Pulpit of Oxford, and that it was listened to by hundreds of students, most of whom now occupy, or are preparing to occupy, important posts in our Church; and when you recollect further, the vast influence which the amiable manners and splendid talents and deep piety of Mr. Heber must give him over the younger members of that University; I do trust that your verdict will be such as to destroy that influence in future, and to prevent thousands and tens of thousands, who would otherwise read with avidity, and too probably largely imbibe his heretical sentiments, from taking any notice of his dangerous publications. Like his fellow-culprits, Mr. Heber does not allow that spiritual regeneration always accompanies baptism; and, like Mr. Simeon, he

seems to ascribe much more to prayer than to the efficacy of the sacrament. To do this is "Popery,—and worse than Popery," as the learned counsel for the prosecution in the previous case has justly observed. But I will now, without further preface, read to you some extracts from Mr. Heber's Lectures, which will show, beyond any doubt, how heretical are that gentleman's opinions respecting the initiatory Sacrament of the Church.

"Though our Saviour," says Mr. Heber, "insisted, in his conference with Nicodemus, on *Baptismal* no less than *spiritual regeneration* as equally necessary to the character of a perfect Christian, yet does the whole tenor of his argument imply, that *these are not the same but different things;* which, though neither of them was, without the other, sufficient to make us members of His Church, might exist, nevertheless, distinctly and with different individuals. And, in point of fact, and if we take as our example the particular case of Nicodemus, so far from internal grace being the effect of baptism only, this order appears to have been absolutely reversed, inasmuch as a considerable spiritual change had already taken place in the Jewish Rabbi, who acknowledged Christ to be a Teacher come from God, although his remaining prejudices or timidity as yet forbade the public profession of his faith by baptism."

Here you see, Gentlemen, that Mr. Heber tries to sever two things which our Church declares, in the case of infants, to be inseparable. He seems to think it very possible that regeneration may take place before baptism; and although he does not absolutely call the change which had been wrought in Nicodemus, the new

birth, or regeneration, he evidently thinks it the same thing, for he calls it "a considerable spiritual change;" and that this "internal grace," instead of being "the effect of baptism only," as the Bishop of Exeter and our Church maintain, "appears to have been absolutely reversed." Thus he makes grace prevenient to baptism. And this error pervades another of this gentleman's Lectures: "In baptism," says he, "which is the outward sign or image of that death unto sin and new birth unto righteousness, which we, through Christ, receive, we declare our faith in Him, and our desire to be admitted through His merits to the privileges which His death hath purchased for mankind. . . . . We are to approach the mercy-seat of God in whatever manner is most pleasing to Him, and we must thank Him for past favours, entreat Him for future protection, in those words, or by those ceremonies, which He hath himself thought fit to institute. To this we are bound under the implied and most righteous penalty of having our requests rejected, if, despising the ordinance of God, we offer them in any other than the commanded form; and to this we are moved by the implied assurance of Christ, that, asking in the manner which He himself hath chosen, our prayer shall not return without its answer. It is therefore that, the ceremony of baptism performed, we proclaim with so much holy confidence that our prayers are already heard, *and the neophyte even now adopted.*" Observe, Gentlemen, this last expression—"the neophyte even now adopted." You would naturally suppose that Mr. Heber means that the baptized, whether an adult or infant, had become the adopted child of God by the grace of Baptism. I wish there was reason to hope that

he believes this; and then, notwithstanding the previous sentence, in which he seems to ascribe the blessing to the answer of prayer rather than to the performance of the sacrament, we might expect that he would ultimately acknowledge his other errors, and be content to teach as the Bishop of Exeter—I mean as the Church of England—requires him to teach. But, alas! on reading further we soon find that all the hopes we were beginning to indulge of his return to orthodoxy, vanish away. For he says: "*Not* that we conceive any *necessary* or *mysterious connection between the forms* themselves, and the grace of which they are the *outward image*, . . . but because the words of Christ, enjoining us to seek such blessings by such ceremonies, are in truth a most ample pledge that our compliance is acceptable to God; and that we are consequently entitled to look forward in humble confidence to the blessing which we seek at His hands. . . . . They (the sacraments) are not the means whereby God gives us grace, but they are the means whereby we ask and obtain grace from God. . . . . From the correspondence thus explained between sacramental and devotional ordinances, it is evident that the practice of infant-baptism may be defended on a different and, perhaps, a more satisfactory ground than the usual arguments derived from precedent and human authority. For whether the infant be a legitimate object of covenant or no, it is certain that he is a proper subject of prayer and intercession; and the devoting a child to the service of the Maker, and the supplication that his heavenly King would dispose him in due time to ratify those engagements, when, above all, our own endeavours may by education mainly contribute to the end

proposed, is a proceeding surely no less reasonable than it is pious, and affecting, and charitable."

There are several expressions in this quotation to which objections might justly be made; but I will not occupy your attention about any of them, except the one at the conclusion. You will, doubtless, have noticed the very objectionable epithet which Mr. Heber has there applied to the sacred ordinance under our consideration. He designates Baptism as *a reasonable proceeding!* Now I think, Gentlemen, that in dealing with the great mysteries of our religion—such as the grace of our Lord's Sacraments most undoubtedly is—this clergyman should not be in the habit of referring the judgment of them to human reason. "To the Law and to the Testimony," and to the Church's interpretation of that law and testimony when it is doubtful, is the rule by which Christians should direct themselves in such matters. The rationalizing process should be left to the school of modern Germany and Geneva: and in the hideous consequences which have resulted from it there, may be seen a fresh and stronger warning to shun so corrupt a practice. But, as I before observed, none of the gentlemen at the bar seem disposed to deny the charge of not agreeing with Rome and the Bishop of Exeter—that is to say, with the Bishop and the Church of England—on the efficacy of infant-baptism. They admit that they differ from his Lordship, and in making this admission they necessarily condemn themselves as heretics, because they deny a doctrine which has ever been held by the Catholic Church. This is a matter of fact which can easily be ascertained; and if it can be clearly proved to be the doctrine of the early Church, no consistent

member of the Church of England will hesitate to believe, that it is a doctrine of our Church at present. For it ought to be borne in mind, Gentlemen, that it was not the object of our Reformers to construct a new Church, but to purify the old one from various errors which, during a long course of years, had crept into it. But that doctrine cannot be deemed an error which has always been retained by the Church, even from Apostolic times. If it had been an error, would not infallible men, such as the writers of the New Testament, have pointed it out, and warned their readers against it? Undoubtedly they would. But we find no such warning. And the immediate successors of the Apostles are equally silent on this point. There is not an expression in their writings which can be fairly construed into a denial of the unconditional Regeneration of baptized infants. On the contrary, many, or, more properly speaking, all the writers of antiquity use baptism and regeneration as necessarily connected together as cause and effect. Wall, on Infant-Baptism, and Bingham, in his learned work on Ecclesiastical Antiquities, prove by irrefragable testimony, that the early Church held precisely the same doctrine which the Bishop of Exeter and our Church at present hold. What can be more clear than the words of Justin Martyr, when describing the mode of baptizing persons in his time? "We brought them to water," he says, "and they washed, and were regenerate." Observe, Gentlemen; they washed—they were baptized—they received not merely the outward visible sign, which is water, but also the inward and spiritual grace, which is regeneration—"they washed and were regenerate."

It would occupy far too much of your time were I to quote from all the early Fathers passages to the same effect which may be found in their writings. Let it suffice to state, that Irenæus, Gregory Nazianzen, Origen, St. Cyprian, and Chrysostom, regarded infant-baptism as effectual for regeneration. Whatever difference of opinion, in fact, existed as to the validity of baptism when administered by heretics, the early Fathers were perfectly unanimous respecting the nature of baptism within the Church. St. Augustine, in particular, has so many passages in his writings which clearly and unequivocally teach that in and by infant-baptism regeneration is conferred, that it is quite impossible for me to read them at length. But as that Father has always been held in deservedly high estimation, and may be regarded as a host in himself, I will state to you the substance of what he has written on this point. In one of his works he states, that infants are made members of the Church of Christ, and it is clear that he believed that the grace which made them so was received by baptism. He maintains that in all cases of grace so received, regeneration took place, that there was remission of sins, and that those benefits were annexed to the Sacrament of Baptism. Zeno also, a Father of great antiquity, in his forty-third treatise, recognizes the baptism of infants and adults as being both of them effectual for regeneration, and at the same time similarly effecting that object. The decisions of various Councils of the ancient Church also ran in the same direction. They enjoined parents to bring their children early to the Baptismal Font, and denounced all who neglected the performance of that

duty. Would they have been thus urgent had they thought it possible that infants could come unworthily, or that they had need of previous, or, as it has been strangely called, "prevenient grace?" Surely, the Church would have been highly to blame for urging and almost compelling infants to be brought to baptism, if it had not felt assured that in and by that ordinance they would be absolutely regenerated. Had not their helplessness and innocence rendered them worthy recipients of baptism, there would have been a possibility that they might come unworthily; and if any come unworthily, our Church says of all such recipients of the sacraments, that they purchase damnation to themselves. The Church therefore would not surely have insisted upon the baptism of infants, had it thought that that solemn act might be attended with such fatal consequences; and hence it is reasonable to conclude that all baptized infants were—not merely publicly and formally in the eye of the Church, but—really and in God's sight, regenerated by the performance of baptism.

I beg also to observe, that all the ancient Liturgies bear testimony to the doctrine of infant-regeneration in baptism. This is recognized in formularies more than a thousand years old, which were used by many of the Eastern and Western Churches. Now it will be granted that the formularies of any church afford the best possible evidence of its belief; but I defy any one to shew that the Roman Church, the Greek Church, or the Church of England, has ever used formularies which contain language repugnant to the doctrine of infant-regeneration in baptism. It is very important, as well

as satisfactory, to know that on this point all true churches are agreed. In an Office for Baptism which is more than a thousand years old, as well as in a very ancient form of the Gallican Church, it is fully declared that regeneration is effected by that ordinance. A Liturgy which was used at Milan, and another in the Syrian Church, contain the same doctrine. The formularies of the Greek, Alexandrian, and other Churches use language to the same effect. All testify that grace is conferred absolutely in and by baptism, and thus they shew what were the faith and practice of the Universal Church.

The Church of this country from the earliest period held no other doctrine, but fully agreed with Rome and the Eastern Church on this matter. This is evident from the testimony of the venerable Bede, who, in his comment on Mark xvi., plainly teaches the very doctrine which the Bishop of Exeter is now vindicating. The Bishop of Sarum in 1250; the Bishop of Durham in 1272, and others of the thirteenth century, afford similar testimony. In the fourteenth century, John de Burgh, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, a great authority, supports this doctrine in a work put forth in 1385. And thus I can proceed without having one authority against this point down to the year 1536. In that year a Royal Declaration was published to the effect, that that Doctrine of Baptism should be received which had been hitherto received in the Church. In the "Institution of a Christian Man's Doctrine," published by Bishop Lloyd in 1543 and 1545, the necessity of baptism and the virtue and force of the grace of God are clearly set forth, and it is stated that if the

recipients of baptism died in infancy they would undoubtedly be saved. You may also see in Cranmer's Catechism, which, if not written, was at least adopted by that Prelate, and dedicated to Edward VI., that he taught that the second birth was by the water of baptism—that by the bath of regeneration alone man could be purified and made fit for salvation.

I have thus, Gentlemen, traced the doctrine held by the Bishop of Exeter, and oppugned by the clergymen at the bar in general, and by the reverend Reginald Heber in particular,—I have traced it from the time of the Apostles to the Reformation, when our present Formularies were deliberately compiled, and publicly sanctioned and adopted. We find this doctrine held uniformly from the beginning. Is it likely, I would ask, that such eminent, pious, and learned men as were our Reformers, would have sanctioned formularies which were not according to their own sentiments? They had the power of making any alterations they pleased: would they not have done so, had they not been persuaded that every infant was absolutely regenerated in and by baptism? Surely, there can be no question upon this matter.

Since, then, our Reformers allowed the same doctrine which was always held by the Catholic Church to remain untouched in the Office of Baptism, we can only conclude that they believed it themselves, and that it was their desire that the Church of England should continue to teach this doctrine. The words are as plain as possible; and, if they are to be taken in their obvious and literal sense, they completely establish the doctrine advocated by the Bishop of Exeter.

I now leave the matter, Gentlemen of the jury, in your hands. Decide, I beseech you, without any regard to the consequences which your verdict may bring upon these good but mistaken men. It is better that a few should suffer for their heresies than that thousands should be encouraged, by the impunity of such persons, to imbibe their errors. If in an evil hour you should be led to acquit the accused, the effect would be tremendous. For a vast number—I may say, thousands—of the clergy and laity will regard such verdict as a declaration, that our Church does not hold that Catholic truth and primitive doctrine, which was once her profession and her boast; but has violated her trust, forfeited her pledge, and lost that which was her hold upon the affections of her children. But, on the contrary, if your verdict be in favour of the Bishop of Exeter's doctrine, you will then avow before the world that, on the subject of Baptism, "we are agreed with Rome," and with the early Christian Church; and you will thus strengthen the hands of the best friends of our Church, who have long been labouring to revive among us those Catholic principles which were well-nigh extinguished. And as to the effect of a decision adverse to the accused, on the members of the Church of England, it will hardly be perceptible; for I am informed that not more than five or six clergymen, if so many, are likely to be ejected from their livings, or driven from the Church of England, by such a verdict.

The counsel on behalf of the reverend Reginald Heber, Mr. Serjeant Clarke, immediately rose in reply, and thus addressed the jury.

Address of Mr. Heber's Counsel.

Gentlemen,

My learned friend is quite correct in assuming that the reverend gentleman, in whose defence I am retained, admits the charge of differing in opinion, as to the efficacy of infant-baptism, from the Right Reverend Prelate by whom these proceedings have been instituted. He fully admits that he differs from his Lordship; but he utterly denies that he opposes any doctrine of the Church of England. The learned counsel has brought forward evidence enough to show that Mr. Heber does *not* "agree with Rome," and, consequently, does not agree with the Bishop of Exeter as to the invariable regeneration of infants in baptism; but with respect to the testimonies adduced to prove that what Rome now holds was always the doctrine of the Catholic Church from the times of the Apostles, I think you will regard them, Gentlemen, as anything but satisfactory. Before, however, I examine those testimonies, I will briefly advert to the accusation, brought against Mr. Heber, of using language of a rationalising tendency.

The reverend gentleman, it seems, maintains that to devote a child to the service of God by entering him into the Covenant of Baptism; to pray that God will dispose his heart when he comes of age to ratify his baptismal

engagements ; and to endeavour meantime to train him up as a member of Christ and an heir of heaven, is not only a pious and charitable, but also a *reasonable* proceeding. Surely, Gentlemen, the learned counsel must be very fastidious when he can object to such language as this! I can account for his dislike to it in no other way than by supposing, that he misunderstands it ; and the cause of his misapprehension is probably owing to the profound speculations in which he has been immersed. It is confessedly difficult for talented persons, like my learned friend, whose senses have been sublimated in the regions where they have so long luxuriated, to breathe in the atmosphere of common sense ; and therefore it is not surprising that he cannot understand language addressed to general readers and hearers, even if resident in a learned University. But it is remarkable that, being unable to comprehend this language, plain and obvious as it is to others, he should talk of appealing to "the Law and to the Testimony," that is, to Holy Scripture. Why, Gentlemen, he will there find expressions absolutely identical with those to which he objects. And if, therefore, he intimates that Mr. Heber approximates to a Semi-infidel, or a German Neologist, or a Swiss Socinian, because he uses this language, how will he designate St. Paul, who tells us, that to devote our souls and bodies to God is a "reasonable service," or a service befitting rational creatures? If St. Paul is to be tried by the same standard by which Mr. Heber has been tried and condemned, I do not see how the Apostle is to escape a similar condemnation, my learned friend being the judge. I heartily wish, Gentlemen, that not only the

learned counsel, but also the Right Reverend Prosecutor, would indeed make "the Law and the Testimony, and the Church's interpretation of that law and testimony where it is doubtful," their ultimate appeal. The question under consideration would then be settled without much difficulty. For it is certain that Scripture nowhere affirms, that regeneration is absolutely given to infants in and by Baptism. And if they who fancy that Scripture does obscurely, if not clearly, teach this doctrine, will seek how our Church interprets this doubtful matter, they will find that her Articles give no countenance whatever to the Romish and superstitious notion, that baptism operates upon infants after the manner of a magic charm. It is not "the Law and the Testimony"—it is not the Articles of the Church of England—it is not the language of the Baptismal Offices, if it be allowed that favourable construction which "in common equity ought to be allowed to all human writings"—which sanction the *opus operatum* doctrine of the sacraments: it rests merely on the obscure and contradictory language of tradition. To this tradition my learned friend and his right reverend client tenaciously cling, deaf to the warning voice which tells us how often God's Law is rendered void by such traditions; and unmindful of the advice given in the Royal Declaration prefixed to the Articles of our Church: "We will that all further curious search be laid aside, and these disputes shut up in God's promises, as they be generally set forth in the Holy Scriptures, and the general meaning of the Articles of the Church of England according to them."

My learned friend has told you that it was the doc-

trine of the Church from the times of the Apostles, that infants are absolutely and unconditionally regenerated in baptism. But he has offered no evidence of this—not a single text from the writings of the Evangelists and Apostles. Mere assertion, of course, needs be met only by counter-assertion; and therefore I shall content myself with replying, that there is not a shadow of a proof that the Apostles held this doctrine. He alludes, indeed, to a sort of negative testimony. He says that we find no warning against this doctrine, which we should have found had it been an error. Why really, Gentlemen, it is too much to expect that an error which did not exist should be condemned. But the learned counsel states, that all the writers of antiquity use the words baptism and regeneration as intimately connected together. Be it so. Do they, therefore, maintain that they are never separate, and that spiritual regeneration is absolutely and unconditionally given in baptism? By no means: they always speak of believing adults, or of infants whom God hath predestinated to life, when they call any persons regenerate. Justin Martyr, who is cited to prove the doctrine of unconditional regeneration, when examined upon the subject, is a witness on our side. Persons in his time were not baptized until they had given evidence of their faith, and, consequently, were not then, any more than they are now, declared to be unconditionally regenerate. His words are: "They who are *persuaded* and do *believe* that those things which are taught by us are true, and do promise to live according to them, are directed first to pray and ask of God, with fasting, the forgiveness of their former sins;

and we also pray and fast together with them. Then we bring them to some place where there is water, and they are regenerated by the same way of regeneration by which we were regenerated." Does this passage prove that regeneration is unconditionally given by baptism? On the contrary, it shows that repentance and faith were the qualifications requisite for candidates for baptism then as they are now. And as to the expression—"they are regenerated"—it means no more than "*they are baptized, and receive the outward sign of regeneration.*" For they had before repented and believed, and asked forgiveness of their sins (for it is only of penitents and believers that Justin Martyr writes) and, consequently, were already regenerate in the sight of God, although it was still needful for them to be "born of water," according to Christ's command, before they could be numbered with the congregation of His faithful people, and acknowledged by the Church as regenerate.

If you refer to the other Fathers, quoted by my learned friend, you will find that they use very similar language, but not a word about absolute, unconditional regeneration. St. Augustine, however, it is asserted, does plainly and unequivocally teach the Bishop of Exeter's and the Roman Church's doctrine. This is inferred from such passages as the following: "By the price of the blood of Christ in baptism, children are washed, freed, and saved from original sin propagated from the first parents." "Seeing therefore children do not begin to be of the sheep of Christ but only by baptism, truly if they do not receive that they will perish."

This language seems, indeed, to favour the Bishop of

Exeter's notion of the efficacy of baptism, until it is explained by St. Augustine himself. He tells us, that sacraments are often called by the names of the things which they signify. The water of baptism, then, is said to wash, free, or save children from original sin, because it represents the blood of Christ by which alone we receive remission of our sins. If we examine the second quotation, we shall be able, by the aid of the same key, to open his meaning, without making him guilty of holding the horrible doctrine, that all unbaptized infants must perish. He there puts baptism for the thing signified, and then utters a truth which no Christian will call in question: "Seeing therefore children do not begin to be of the sheep of Christ but only by (the blood of Christ which is signified by) baptism, truly if they do not receive that they will perish." We may surely believe, indeed, that not only infants, who die before they commit actual sin, but also believing adults, though unbaptized with water, have received and do receive the baptism of the blood of Christ. But my learned friend appears to have forgotten this important circumstance, namely, that the ancient Fathers, when treating of either of the sacraments, very frequently give the name of the thing signified to the outward sign, and therefore *apparently* sanction the doctrine of invariable regeneration in adult as well as infant-baptism.

There is another consideration, which the learned counsel has also forgotten, and that is, the description of persons whom the Fathers have in view when they speak in such exalted terms of the benefits of the sacraments. They speak of those whom God hath elected

and chosen from the foundation of the world to be vessels of honour in his heavenly kingdom. I do not presume to enter into the mysterious subject of predestination and election, or to lay before you any of the conflicting opinions which have been, or are, held respecting that doctrine. For such a matter, as Bishop Beveridge well observes, "must needs be infinitely above man's apprehension. So that a cockle-fish may as soon crowd the ocean into its narrow shell, as vain man ever comprehend the decrees of God." I speak merely to a matter of fact. The Fathers in general, and St. Augustine in particular, appear to have held this doctrine, and, consequently, they could not ascribe regenerating and sanctifying grace, remission of sin, original or actual, to the performance of an outward act. God's foreknowledge enables Him, of course, to see the whole life of every child of Adam at a glance. Must He not behold some—does not Scripture authorize us to believe that He beholds a very great multitude who, though baptized with water, are never baptized with the Holy Ghost, and, consequently, are never made partakers of that new nature which fits them for heaven? How then could St. Augustine teach such a doctrine as he has been supposed to hold, namely, that remission of sins is invariably conferred on all baptized infants by spiritual regeneration? Let that eminent Father, however, speak for himself: "Firmly believe," he says, "and by no means doubt, that the Trinity, the unchangeable God, the certain foreknower of all things and works, both His own and men's, before all worlds did know to whom He would give grace by faith. Without which none from the beginning of the

world to the end of it can be absolved from the guilt of his sin, original and actual; for those whom God foreknew, He did also predestinate to be conformable to the image of His Son." Had the learned counsel studiously examined the passages in the Fathers to which he refers, and considered what must be their real meaning so as to be consistent with the sentiments which they were known to entertain on this mysterious doctrine, he would hardly have asserted that they were unanimous in teaching the absolute and unconditional efficacy of infant-baptism. It is very easy, indeed, to quote many expressions from their writings in support of the Bishop of Exeter's doctrine; but it is equally easy to furnish abundant testimony from the same writers, that they utterly repudiated such a doctrine. When also it is borne in mind that many passages, and even entire treatises, have been attributed to the Fathers, which the researches of learned and acute men have demonstrated to be forgeries and interpolations, we cannot surely be expected to place much dependance on such kind of evidence.

But my learned friend endeavours to found an argument on the fact, that several Councils have denounced the neglect of parents in not bringing their infants to baptism. "Would they have done so," he asks, "if they had thought infants unworthy recipients, and in need of prevenient grace, and, therefore, likely to bring down damnation on themselves?" It might with equal reason be objected, that our Church would hardly exhort her members to attend the Lord's Table, lest they should eat and drink unworthily, and thus bring a curse instead of a blessing on their heads. It

is not for us to raise scruples, or to enter into speculations, on such matters, but to do that which is commanded. Both the sacraments are commanded to be received, and, consequently, it is the duty of the Church to exhort parents to bring their children to the former, and to urge all Christians to "draw near with faith" and partake of the latter. No persons, whether adults or infants, can worthily receive baptism without God's preventing, or accompanying grace, for a corrupt nature pertains to all. That the former, who may come unworthily, that is, without repentance and faith, are guilty of an aggravated sin, and incur God's heavy displeasure, there is no question; but that unconscious infants, who are, in obedience to Christ's command, brought to the Sacrament of Baptism, may thereby be in danger of damnation, *as infants*, is a notion which surely never entered the head of any reasonable being. Should they live to years of discretion they are then, of course, in the same position, with regard to baptismal obligations, as those who are baptized in riper years. If they neglect the duties incumbent on them, they will suffer loss while they live, and, dying impenitent, will no doubt perish everlastingly.

With respect to the ancient Liturgies to which my learned friend has referred, it is obvious that the language in them is similar to that of the Fathers. The sign is frequently put for the thing signified; and therefore the expressions in question afford no substantial evidence that the Church then held the doctrine of invariable spiritual regeneration in and by baptism. The venerable Bede spoke and wrote after the same manner; but this does not prove that he held the doc-

trine maintained by the Bishop of Exeter. As to the bishops and other learned men of this country, who lived during the three or four centuries previous to the Reformation, it is not denied that they agreed with Rome and the Bishop of Exeter on this point. But the question is not, what was the doctrine of the English Church respecting infant-baptism during the dark ages, but, what was it at the completion of the Reformation? That the Reformers themselves, on just emerging from the darkness of Popery, did not hold very clear views on this subject, is conceded. This was no more than might be expected from men who had been so long under bondage to Rome. It is, however, a mistake to suppose that they all believed that grace was so tied to the Sacrament of Baptism, that baptized infants were always the recipients of the inward and spiritual grace; and hence that the expressions in the Offices of Baptism were understood by them in the sense attached to them by the Bishop of Exeter. For there are documents extant which clearly show that those pious and learned men had different opinions upon this point—that they gradually receded further and further from Rome as they became better acquainted with Holy Scripture—until at length, they plainly and unequivocally repudiated the Popish doctrine, that grace is conferred by the mere performance of the sacrament. This matter underwent frequent discussion. Some of the Reformers thought that grace was inseparably annexed to the sacraments, and, like the Church of Rome, seemed inclined to exalt them too highly. Had not others strongly opposed this view, the *opus operatum* doctrine would have been established by authority as the doctrine of the Church

of England. "But," says Peter Martyr, "when others clearly saw how many superstitions such a determination would bring with it, they made it a primary point to endeavour in all ways to show, that nothing more is to be granted to the sacraments than to the external Word of God; for by both these kinds of word," he continues, "is signified and shown to us the salvation obtained for us through Christ, which as many are made partakers of as believe these words and signs, not indeed by the virtue of the words in the sacrament, but by the efficacy of faith. . . . . In the case of children, when they are baptized, since on account of their age they cannot have that assent to the Divine promises which is faith in them, the sacrament effects this—that pardon of original sin, reconciliation with God, and the grace of the Holy Spirit, bestowed on them through Christ is sealed in them, and that those *belonging already to the Church are also visibly implanted in it.* Although of those that are baptized, whether children or adults, it is not to be denied that much advantage and profit comes to them from the invocation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, which takes place over them. For God always hears the faithful prayers of his Church. We were anxious that these things should be determined and established by authority concerning the sacraments, that their use might at length be restored to a state of purity and simplicity. But it was opposed: and many are of opinion, and those otherwise not unlearned, nor evil, that grace is conferred, as they say, by virtue of the sacrament. Nor are they willing to grant that little children are justified or regenerated previous to bap-

tism. But when we came to their reasons, there are none which do not most readily admit of a solution."

We are not then to conclude, Gentlemen, that those oft-controverted expressions in the Baptismal Office are in favour of those who hold, "that grace is conferred by virtue of the sacrament," for this evidence shews that many were opposed to this doctrine, and that they prevented it from being "established by authority." But if that Office had been considered as establishing the point maintained by the Bishop of Exeter, is it reasonable to suppose that Peter Martyr, Bullinger, and other eminent Reformers would have given their sanction and approbation to it? *They* could not, then, have put that construction on certain words in the Baptismal Office which the Bishop of Exeter and others have fixed upon it.

In order to understand whether the Reformers attached a Popish or a Protestant sense to those phrases we must have recourse to the Articles. They are, as it has been well observed, the Code of Doctrine of the Church of England, and by them must all the Formularies of our Church be tested. For as Bishop Taylor says: "Nothing is more reasonable in questions concerning the interpretation of a law, than to inquire how the practice of people was in times bygone; because what they did when the reason and sense of the law were best perceived, and what the lawgiver allowed them to do in the obedience of it, may best be supposed to be that which he intended." If then it was the intention of our Reformers to teach a doctrine which is generally allowed to be Popish, although many consider it Catholic, we shall, of course, find it in the Articles.

But if it be not found there, and if, instead of it, there be a declaration clearly militating against such a doctrine, it cannot be maintained that our Reformers meant to teach it in the Liturgy and Formularies of the Church. It is true that some expressions in the Baptismal Service, if construed without reference to the Articles, or to the general tenor and spirit of the Liturgy and Offices of the Church, may be interpreted in a Popish instead of a Protestant sense; but was it the intention of our Reformers that they should be so interpreted? Did they say, or intimate, "We are agreed with Rome on this point?" The learned counsel thinks that such was their intention, because, says he, they had it in their power to alter the Liturgy as they pleased; and, since they allowed those expressions to remain, it must be supposed that they approved of them, and, consequently, of the doctrine they enunciated. I quite agree with my learned friend, that our Reformers cordially approved of the Liturgy and Offices. They approved of them, because they were agreeable, or, at least, not repugnant, to the Word of God. They were written according to the tenor and spirit of Holy Scripture, and therefore our Reformers gave their full sanction and approbation to them. But did they mean that they should be interpreted in a sense which should approximate to the *opus operatum* doctrine? Certainly not. I have already shewn, by the extract which I read to you from the Letter of Peter Martyr, that they gave no authoritative decision as to the effect of infant-baptism. Since that matter had not been determined by Scripture, they contented themselves with the Scriptural language in which the Liturgy and Offices were composed;

and, consequently, they left the question respecting the efficacy of infant-baptism undetermined. Hence different opinions might then, as they may now, "fairly, honestly, and without compromise of principle, be entertained." Yet as all men might assert that their views were agreeable to Scripture, this difference of opinion was to be kept within certain limits, namely, whatever opinion was advanced, it was not to be repugnant to the Thirty-nine Articles—the code of doctrine of the Church of England. It was not left to every man to put his own interpretation on either Scripture, or the Prayer Book, and other Formularies of our Church; but so long as he continued a member and especially a minister of that Church, he was bound to accept her interpretation of both. For, "as the Church requires subscription," says Dr. Waterland, "to her own interpretation of Scripture, so the subscriber is bound, in virtue of his subscription, to that and that only; and if he knowingly subscribes *in any sense contrary to or different from the sense of the imposers*, he prevaricates and commits a fraud in so doing." Do the Articles of our Church, then, sanction the interpretation which the Bishop of Exeter puts upon certain expressions in the Baptismal Service? Do they countenance the notion, that either adults or infants have the inward and spiritual grace of the sacrament invariably conferred upon them in baptism? If they do, then are you bound to give a verdict against Mr. Heber: but if they repudiate such a notion, as I believe it may be proved they really do, then will you feel it to be your duty to acquit my reverend friend.

I have already stated to you, Gentlemen, on the au-

thority of Peter Martyr, that the Reformers would not agree that it should be a ruled doctrine of our Church, *that grace is conferred by virtue of the sacrament;* and, consequently, that the opinion of the Bishop of Exeter, that spiritual regeneration is always conferred on infants by baptism, was not at that time established as a doctrine of our Church. The opponents of this doctrine so far succeeded in their object as to prevent it from being sanctioned by our Church; for they "saw how many superstitions such a determination would bring with it." As many learned and pious men still clung to this doctrine, which we need not be surprised at, considering how recently they had separated from Rome, the Reformers could not all at once get it authoritatively condemned. But so long as it was not supported by our Church, they hoped that as the Scriptures became better known and studied, the error of attributing to sacraments a sort of magic charm, and of exalting them above the Word of God, would be generally renounced. And although isolated passages in the Baptismal Service were capable of being interpreted in a Popish and unscriptural as well as in a Protestant and scriptural sense, the Reformers did not despair, but, on the contrary, were "not a little confident" that "pure truth would be brought back into the Church," and that "nothing more would be granted to the sacraments than to the external Word of God." How far these confident expectations were realized I beg now to show you.

The Articles, as the code of doctrine of the Church of England, naturally occupied the careful and anxious attention of the Reformers; for whatever was doubtful

and obscure in the Liturgy and Offices, it would be necessary to interpret it according to the Articles. Here, therefore, we might expect to find every essential doctrine clearly laid down, and every error which our Church had held while she was in subjection to Rome, as clearly condemned. Those errors were relinquished gradually, as may be seen by comparing the Articles of 1536 with those of subsequent periods. When the Articles were first published, the Reformers still retained some of the erroneous doctrines which the Church of Rome had taught them. Amongst others, they believed that by the mere act of baptism infants were always spiritually regenerated, and that if any children died unbaptized, they could not be saved. Hence, in the Prayer Book of 1536, it was declared that there was remission of sins to children who were baptized, and who died before they committed actual sin, *but not else.* And in "The King's Book," published in 1543, it is declared that Baptism "appertaineth and is offered unto infants, which because they be born in original sin, have need and ought to be christened; whereby they being offered in the faith of the Church, receive forgiveness of their sins, and such grace of the Holy Ghost, that if they die in the state of their infancy, they shall thereby undoubtedly be saved." Up to this period, 1543, pray observe, Gentlemen of the jury, the doctrine—advocated by the Bishop of Exeter, that infants are undoubtedly saved *by baptism*—was really held and taught by the Church of England. But as the views of the Reformers became more scriptural, their statements of doctrine were less and less Popish. And in the Articles of 1562, we find the declaration,

that infants obtain remission of sins and are undoubtedly saved by baptism, and not else, changed into the following statement:—"The baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ." There is not a word respecting the effect produced on infants by baptism. Would our Reformers, I ask, have been silent as to this point, had they believed it to be a fundamental doctrine? So far from thinking it fundamental, it is evident that they considered it a doctrine leading to "many superstitions." They felt that it did not become them, like the Church of Rome, which arrogantly claims infallibility, to determine a matter on which Scripture is silent; and, therefore, they omit all reference to the efficacy of infant-baptism. They had now attained the object which Peter Martyr and others had vainly struggled to effect some years before, and procured such a decision, "by authority, concerning the sacraments, that their use" was at length "restored to a state of purity and simplicity." They declare that sacraments are "effectual signs of grace, and God's good will towards us, by the which He doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our FAITH in Him." This refers, of course, to those adults who "rightly, worthily, and with faith," receive the sacraments, whether Baptism or the Supper of the Lord; and in such persons, it is asserted, "they have a wholesome effect or operation." Yet they do not teach that even penitent and believing adults are actually regenerated in and by baptism; but that "baptism is a *sign* of new birth," or regeneration, and that "the promises of forgiveness of

sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, *are visibly signed and sealed.*" They state that "faith is confirmed and grace increased by virtue" —not of baptism, but—"of prayer unto God." They do not affirm that regeneration—"the new birth unto righteousness"—is communicated by baptism; still less by baptism only.

"The Church of God," says Bishop Hooper, "publicly receives him in baptism, who had been *previously* received by grace. Thus Abraham, saith Paul, received the sign of circumcision, 'a seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had yet being uncircumcised;' that is, a testimony by which God bare witness that he was received into grace, *not that he was to be received by the sacrament*, but rather *confirmed* in it."

"Augustine saith," writes Bishop Jewel, "'Why doth not Christ say, Now ye are clean, because of the baptism wherewith ye are washed; saving that because in the water it is the word which maketh clean?' It is the covenant and promise and mercy of God which clotheth us with immortality, assureth our resurrection, *by which we receive regeneration, forgiveness of sins, life and salvation.* His word declareth His love towards us; and that word is *sealed* and *made good* by baptism."

You will find that most of our Reformers wrote to the same effect: and as they gave their sanction to the Baptismal Service, in which has originated the question under your consideration, it may be well to read to you some extracts from their writings, which bear upon this subject. You may then easily judge whether the interpretation, put by the Bishop of Exeter upon certain expressions in that Service, be according to the sense in

which those venerable men understood them, and which the compilers and approvers of the Articles evidently meant to be taught to the members of the Church of England.

Bucer, to whose inspection the Prayer Book was submitted, and who approved of that very Office which, in the opinion of the Bishop of Exeter, teaches that spiritual regeneration is always conferred on all infants in baptism, observes respecting this matter: "With elect infants,"—he does not say, Gentlemen, with *all* infants who may be brought to that sacrament, but—"with *elect* infants the Spirit of the Lord is present, by which, so far as suffices for their age and condition, they are led; and when they grow up, at the time ordained by the Father, it teaches them to believe the Word of God, and leads them by faith to salvation." "We say concerning infants," Peter Martyr wrote, "that it is sufficient for us that they are offered to the Church, either by their parents, or by those in whose power they are. But if election and predestination concur with the administration of the sacrament, what we do is ratified; if not, it is useless. For our salvation depends upon the election and mercy of God. But of the former, since to us it is hidden, we judge nothing. We can only follow such indications which we can have respecting it; such as these—that young children are brought to be baptized, and that those of mature years profess in words that they believe in Christ; which marks, although they are not so certain that they cannot deceive, yet they are sufficient for us making them partakers of the sacrament." "The washing outwardly," says Archbishop Cranmer, "is not a vain

token, but teacheth such a washing as God worketh inwardly *in them that duly receive the same.* . . . . In baptism, those that come feignedly, and those that come unfeignedly, both be washed with the sacramental water, but both be not washed with the Holy Ghost, and clothed with Christ."

Is it said that Cranmer here speaks of the effects of baptism on adults only? I answer that he makes no distinction, and he could not make any, because the whole lives both of infants and adults are before God, with all their fruits whether good or evil; so that it may be said even of infants, in whom God's foreknowledge enables Him to see there will be no faith and repentance, that they come unworthily. God cannot make a tree good which will produce only corrupt fruit. He cannot make him a child of God by adoption and grace, whom He foresees living from infancy to hoary age in sin and unbelief, and dying impenitent. The following passage from Bullinger's *Decades* plainly teaches that regeneration is not communicated by baptism, *ex opere operato.* How much that eminent Reformer was valued is evident from the fact, that his *Decades* were ordered by the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, in 1586, to be carefully read by "every minister having cure, and being under the degrees of Master of Arts, and Bachelor of Law, &c."

"This life and salvation He doth communicate to us, not by the law, or through circumcision, but by faith in Christ: therefore faith alone doth justify. . . . . The sons cannot be justified any other way than the father before them was justified. Abraham therefore was not justified by circumcision, or receiving the sacrament;

for it is said that he was justified before he was circumcised. Afterwards was added the sign of circumcision, as 'the seal of the righteousness of faith,' that is, the signing or sealing that all the seed of Abraham is justified by faith. . . . . True faith is the justification of the Church, or faithful of God: that it is, I say, the forgiveness of all sins, a receiving into the grace of God, a taking by adoption into the number of the sons of God, an assured and blessed beatification, and finally, the well-spring of all good works."

Let me next state what Becon, Cranmer's chaplain, says on this matter. His writings were highly esteemed, and were widely circulated under the sanction of the Archbishop. "We are not by nature the children of God, as Christ only is, but by adoption and grace, or favour of God. . . . . By what means do we receive at the hand of God these heavenly treasures? Or by what means are they conveyed to us?" Now if the Bishop of Exeter's views had been entertained by Thomas Becon, the answer would, of course, have been—"By Baptism;" but he tells us that these heavenly treasures are conveyed to us *by faith*. Here is another question, which would have given Becon a good opportunity of stating the efficacy of Baptism, *ex opere operato*, if he had held such a doctrine: "Why should the infants be baptized, which for imperfection of age are not able to believe? *Ans.* Though infants have not power to believe, or to confess their belief, yet have they faith imputed to them for the promise sake of God, *because they be of the seed of the faithful;* as he said to Abraham, 'I will be thy God, and the God of thy seed.' (Genesis xvii.) Seeing, then, that they also have the

promise of salvation, why should they be forbidden the promised *pledge* or *seal* of the same promise of salvation? The sacraments of the Jews differed nothing from ours in effect, but only in the outward element and form of executing the same. . . . . The Spirit is not so bound to the water that it cannot work his office where the water wanteth, *or that it of necessity must always be there where the water is sprinkled.*"

This is surely a clear denial of the efficacy of baptism, *ex opere operato*, in any case, for he is here speaking of infants who, say the schoolmen and Romanists, interpose no obstacle to the reception of spiritual grace: "True Christians," he says, "whether they be old or young, are not saved because outwardly they be washed with the sacramental water, but because they be God's children by election through Christ, yea, and that before the foundations of the world were laid, and are sealed up by the Spirit of God unto everlasting life."

It is natural to suppose that, if our Reformers had believed that the inward and spiritual grace was invariably conveyed through baptism to infants, this doctrine would have been taught in the Catechisms which they published; but, on examining those early publications, we find a very different doctrine inculcated. In the "Short Catechism," published in 1553, are the following questions and answers:

"*Master.* Tell me what thou callest sacraments.

"*Scholar.* They are certain customable reverent doings and ceremonies ordained by Christ; that by them he might put us in remembrance of his benefits, and we might declare our profession, that we be of the number of them which are partakers of the same bene-

fits, and which fasten all their affiance in Him; that we are not ashamed of the name of Christ, or to be termed Christ's scholars.

"*Master.* What doth baptism represent and set before us?

"*Scholar.* That we are by the Spirit of Christ new born, and cleansed from sin; that we be members and parts of his Church, received into the communion of saints. For water signifieth the Spirit. Baptism is also a figure of our burial in Christ, and that we shall be raised up again with Him in a new life. . . ."

This Catechism, you will see, Gentlemen, does not teach that grace is necessarily conveyed to all infants by baptism, but that baptism *represents* or *sets before us* the new birth unto righteousness. It does not teach that baptism is, even in the case of infants, regeneration itself. And our Reformers have so defined baptism in the twenty-seventh Article. It is "a sign of regeneration or new birth."

Bishop Hooper says: "There are two kinds of baptism, and both necessary: the one interior, which is the cleansing of the heart, the drawing of the Father, the operation of the Holy Ghost; and this baptism is in man, when he believeth and trusteth that Christ is the only author of his salvation. Thus be the infants examined concerning repentance and faith, before they be baptized with water; at the contemplation of the which faith, God purgeth the soul. Then is the exterior sign added, not to purge the heart, but to confirm, manifest, and open unto the world that this child is God's."

Here is the very explanation which has been already

given, by the leading counsel for the defence, as to the meaning of the controverted expressions in the Baptismal Service for Infants. They are declared by the Church to be regenerate, on the charitable presumption that God *contemplates the prospective faith of the children;* and, in the hope that what the sponsors have promised in their names the children will afterwards fulfil, she receives them as her members, and looks upon them as children of God and heirs of heaven.

Bishop Hooper illustrates baptism by a reference to the coronation of a king. The king was the true heir to the crown before his coronation, and this ceremony did not *make* him a king, but manifested to the world that the kingdom belonged to him. "So it is," he says, "in the Church of Christ: man is made the brother of Christ, and heir of eternal life by God's only mercy received by faith, *before he receive any ceremony to confirm and manifest openly his right and title.* . . . He hath the livery of God given unto him, baptism, the which no Christian should neglect; and yet not attribute his sanctification unto the external sign." "The office of a sacrament is this," says the same eminent Bishop and Martyr, "to show unto us outwardly that the merits of Christ are made ours, for the promise sake which God hath made unto those that believe; and these sacraments by faith doth applicate and apply outwardly unto him, *that in faith receiveth them*, the same grace, the same mercy, the same benefits that are represented by the sacraments; *but not so by the ministration of the sacraments, as though they that receive them were not before assured of the same graces and benefits represented by the sacraments.* That were a manifest *error:* for in

case the sacraments could give us very Christ, the promises of God were in vain, *the which always appertain unto the people of God* before they receive any sacrament. . . . . For the sacrament maketh not the union, peace, and concord between God and us, but it ratifieth, stablisheth, and confirmeth the love and peace that is between God and us *before* for his promise sake. . . . . It is ill done to condemn the infants of the Christians that die without baptism, of whose salvation by the Scripture we be assured: *Ero Deus tuus, et seminis tui post te* (I will be thy God, and the God of thy children after thee.) I would likewise judge well of the infants of the infidels, who hath none other sin in them but original, the sin of Adam's transgression. . . . It shall not be against the faith of a Christian man to say, that Christ's death and passion extendeth as far for the salvation of innocents, as Adam's fall made all his posterity culpable of damnation. . . . It is not the part of a Christian to say, This man is damned, or, This is saved, except he see the cause of damnation manifest. . . . . These temerous judgments of men hath brought into the Church of Christ a wrong opinion of God, to say that He *can or doth save none, but such as be received openly into the Church by baptism.* . . . . The ungodly opinion, that attributeth the salvation of man unto the receiving of an external sacrament, doth derogate the mercy of God, as though his Holy Spirit could not be carried by faith into the penitent and sorrowful conscience, except it rid always in a chariot and external sacrament. . . . . As a man first assured of God he (Abraham) received this sacrament (circumcision), *and sought not first to find him in an external*

sign. So doth all men at this day, *if they marked what is required of them before they receive any sacrament.* There is not so much as the *speechless infant*, but by his parents (or sponsors) is bound to give account of his faith before he be christened. . . . . The principal and chief cause of all the sacraments that be now in the Church of Christ, is, that they be and ever hath been the *signs* of God's will and pleasure towards us; *testimonies* and *seals* annexed unto the promise of grace. *They be not the thing that they represent, but signs and remembrances thereof.* Weigh the Scripture diligently, Christian reader, and search for the truth there."

It would be well, Gentlemen, if this last sentence were deeply impressed on the minds of all Christians. If, instead of appealing to Tradition, to the conflicting opinions of the ancient Fathers, and to works ascribed to them but which they never wrote, men would be content to "weigh the Scripture and search for the truth there," such questions as the one now before you would be speedily decided. But however learned and acute men may be, when they wander from the only safe ground of Scripture into the devious paths of Tradition, they are soon bewildered and confounded, and recede further and further from the truth. They "do err, not knowing the Scriptures." Let me, however, read to you a few more quotations from the genuine writings of men who "were mighty in the Scriptures," and whose recorded sentiments will enable you to judge what meaning they attached to the passages in the Baptismal Service, which the Prosecutor states "agree with Rome."

Bishop Coverdale states that, "In baptism is required God's election, if he be an infant; or faith, if he be of age."

Tyndale also condemns the notion that grace is always conveyed to infants by baptism. "The infants that die unbaptized of us Christians that would baptize them at due time, and teach them to believe in Christ, are in as good case as these that die baptized; for as the covenant made to the faith of Abraham went over his seed as soon as it had life, *and before the sign was put on them*, even so must needs the covenant, made to all that believe in Christ's blood, go over that seed as soon as it hath life in the mother's womb, before the sign be put on it. For it is the covenant only, and not the sign, that saveth us; though the sign be commanded to be put on at due time, to stir up faith of the covenant that saveth us."

The learned Fulke was equally obnoxious to the charge of heresy with the venerable names I have just cited, if the Bishop of Exeter's doctrine be that of the Church of England; for when he was accused by his Popish opponent of depriving the sacraments of all grace, virtue, and efficacy, because he denied that they had any effect, *ex opere operato*, he acknowledged that he did not ascribe efficacy to the external sign, or consider that grace was always conveyed by it. "We do not," he writes, "include grace, virtue, and efficacy within the external elements, or the ministry of man about them; but ascribe the same to the mighty work of God's Spirit *in his chosen children*, which worketh all His gifts in all men according to the good pleasure of His own will. . . . . We hold that the sacraments

are seals of God's promises to confirm our faith, by which we are justified before Him."

Had this learned man lived in the present day, and sought to exercise his ministry in the Diocese of Exeter, he would, of course, have been prohibited by the Bishop, because his Lordship maintains that all infants, not merely in the eye of the Church and of charity, but really and absolutely, are born of God in baptism, *ex opere operato*.

If regeneration were invariably conveyed to infants by baptism, that sacrament would have greater efficacy than the preaching of God's Word; and so, indeed, the adherents of the Bishop of Exeter appear to think, for they exalt baptism far above that Word. But the sacraments were not thus unduly exalted by our Reformers. "The Gospel," says Archdeacon Philpot, "is more than baptism; for Paul said, 'The Lord sent me to preach the Gospel, and not to baptize;' not that he denies absolutely that he was sent to baptize, but that he preferred doctrine before baptism; for the Lord commanded both to the Apostles. But children be received by the doctrine of the Gospel of God, and not refused; therefore, what person being of reason may deny them baptism, which is a thing lesser than the Gospel? For in the sacraments be two things to be considered, the thing signified and the sign; and the thing signified is greater than the sign; and from the thing signified in baptism children are not excluded, Who therefore may deny them the sign which is baptism in water? . . . Since that *infants be in the number or scroll of God's people, and be partakers of the promise by their purification in Christ*, it must needs follow

thereby, that they ought to be baptized as well as those that can profess their faith: for we judge the people of God as well by the free and liberal promise of God, as by the confession of faith. For to whomsoever God promiseth Himself to be their God, and whom He acknowledgeth for His, those no man without great impiety may exclude from the number of the faithful. But God promiseth that He will not only be the God of such as do profess Him, but also of infants, promising them His grace and remission of sins, as it appeareth by the words of the covenant made unto Abraham: 'I will set my covenant between thee and me (saith the Lord), and between thy seed after thee in their generations, with an everlasting covenant, to be thy God, and the God of thy seed after thee.' To the which covenant circumcision was added, *to be a sign of sanctification* as well in children as in men; and no man may think that this promise is abrogated with circumcision, and other ceremonial laws; for Christ came to fulfil the promises, and not to dissolve them."

Archdeacon Philpot, you will perceive, Gentlemen, did not consider baptism as conveying the inward and spiritual grace to infants, but as a sign and seal of God's promise: a sign also of sanctification, but not the thing signified; for that might obviously be given at some future time, and in most cases is given subsequent to baptism, if we are to attend to the Scriptural test, and to judge of the tree by the fruits. That the Archdeacon materially differed in opinion from the Bishop of Exeter on this point, his writings furnish abundant testimony; and therefore, had he lived at the present time, he must not have sought a cure in his Lordship's Diocese.

"The preaching of the Gospel"—not, observe, Gentlemen, the sacraments merely or chiefly—"is God's instrument," says Bishop Latimer, "whereby he worketh faith in our hearts. Our Saviour saith to Nicodeme, '*Nisi quis renatus fuerit*, Except a man be born anew, he cannot see the kingdom of God.' But how cometh this regeneration? By hearing and believing of the Word of God: for so saith St. Peter, *Renati non ex semine mortali corruptibili;* 'We are born anew, not of mortal seed, but of immortal, by the Word of God.' 1 Peter i."

The Prosecutor maintains that, "always to infants, and to adults rightly receiving, regeneration is given in baptism, and, so far as man is authorized to pronounce, in baptism only." What says Bishop Latimer? Regeneration cometh—not by baptism, still less by baptism only, but—"by hearing and believing the Word of God." Hence the venerable Latimer, had he lived in these days, must have been prohibited from ministering in our Church in the Diocese of Exeter, if the Bishop's power were equal to his will.

"Some men will say," observes Bishop Jewel, "children or infants believe nothing, but are utterly void of faith. St. Augustine answereth: *Qui non crediderit, condemnabitur*, &c., 'He that believeth not shall be damned.' We confess that as they be born again by the ministry of baptizers, so they believe by the hearts and mouths of the confessors (sponsors). They have faith 'because they have (baptism which is) the sacrament of faith.'" From this it appears that St. Augustine believed that the parents' or sponsors' faith was imputed to the baptized infants, and, consequently, that

infants were not unconditionally regenerated by the mere performance of baptism. If the parents or sponsors had no faith it could not be imputed to the infants, and then their baptism would be without benefit.

Bishop Jewel quotes with approbation a common resolution of the school doctors:—"The grace of God is not tied to any sacraments." The Bishop of Exeter, on the contrary, maintains that the grace of God is tied to the Sacrament of Baptism, for he says that regeneration is conveyed in baptism *always* to infants. Therefore Augustine, because he makes the efficacy of baptism conditional, that is dependent on the faith of them by whom the children are brought to that sacrament; and Jewel, because he did not consider grace "tied to the sacraments, but, on the contrary, averred, that the sacraments of Christ, *without faith*, do not once profit them that be alive much less them that be dead," would both have been excluded from the ministry of our Church in the Diocese of Exeter, had they lived at this period.

For the same reason, St. Jerome must have been excommunicated by Dr. Philpotts; for he says: "If any one have received only the bodily washing of water, that is, outwardly seen with the eye, he hath not put on our Lord Jesus Christ." "If any infant," virtually says the Bishop of Exeter, "hath been bodily washed of water, or baptized, it is surely born of God, and hath put on our Lord Jesus Christ." No disciple or follower, therefore, of St. Jerome would be willingly licensed or instituted by the Bishop to the spiritual charge of any parish in the Diocese of Exeter.

"The merits of Christ's death," says Jewel, "whereof

we entreat, are conveyed unto us by God, and received by us. God conveyeth them to us only of his mercy; and we receive them *only by faith.* But the ways whereby either to procure God's mercy or to enkindle our faith are many and sundry. God's mercy is procured sometime by prayer, sometime by other means. But to breed or increase faith in us there are more ways than can be reckoned. . . . Among other causes, the sacraments serve specially to direct and to aid our faith. For they are, as St. Augustine calleth them"—What are they, Gentlemen of the jury? Effectual means of conveying spiritual grace to all who do not interpose any obstacle? No, but—"'*Verba visibilia,*' visible words, and *seals* and *testimonies* of the Gospel. All this notwithstanding, we say, it is neither the work of the priest, nor the nature of the sacrament as of itself, that maketh us partakers of Christ's death, *but only the faith of the receiver.*"

I have before observed, Gentlemen, that it was very common for ancient writers to call the outward sign the thing which it signified; but this was merely a figure of speech, well understood at the time. Afterwards, however, when false doctrines began to creep into the Church, this figurative language was taken literally; and hence arose the strange doctrines of Transubstantiation, and the *opus operatum* efficacy of the sacraments. Thus baptism, because in it is signified and represented our regeneration, is sometimes called regeneration, although it was far from the intention of those who used the word thus figuratively, to teach that baptism *conveyed* the new birth unto righteousness; or that either infants or adults were born of God at

the precise moment when baptism was administered. Bishop Ridley uses the word regeneration for baptism in the following sentence: "When I consider that all that man doth profess in his regeneration, when he is received into the holy Catholic Church of Christ, and is *now to be accounted for one of the lively members of Christ's own body*, &c.;" but who does not see that he speaks figuratively? Who will venture to assert that, because Ridley charitably regarded those who were baptized, after a profession of faith (whether made by themselves, or by their sponsors) as regenerate, and *accounted* them lively members of Christ, he considered them *actually made* so in and by baptism, *ex opere operato?*

The martyr, John Bradford, says, "that Christian parents seem to be no less bound to offer their infants and babes to be baptized, that they may be taken and accounted of us as members of Christ's mystical body, wherein they are received and sealed, than were the Hebrews their children to be circumcised, and so to be taken as pertaining to the covenant and league with God, wherein they were engrafted." How astonished would that eminently pious man have been, had he been told that the Church in which he laboured, and for maintaining the purity of her doctrines gladly gave up his life in the flames, not only *accounted* baptized children members of Christ's body, but had absolutely made them new creatures, and given them a place in the Lamb's Book of life, by the mere performance of baptism!

It will be superfluous, Gentlemen, to adduce any further testimony, in order to shew what were the senti-

ments of the Compilers and Approvers of our Baptismal Service. No dispassionate inquirer, who examines their writings, can have a shadow of doubt, that our Reformers believed that none but the elect of God were truly regenerate; that they believed that all infants who died in their infancy were saved, whether born of Christian or heathen parents; and that they did not believe that all infants, who were baptized and lived to a responsible age, were infallibly born of God. How then, it may be asked, could they sanction expressions which would be popularly understood as declaring the unconditional regeneration of all baptized infants? They considered, doubtless, that all intelligent persons, who read and searched the Scriptures, would understand those expressions as they do similar phrases in that sacred Volume, as the language of faith, hope, and charity; for no one can surely impute to those pious and learned men the wicked and dishonest principle of holding one opinion and teaching another. "The framers of that Liturgy," says the Poet Coleridge, "were eminently pious, learned, and wise men. But they were not *inspired* men. Nor does the Church of England pretend to supersede the study of the Scripture by the pretences of infallible interpretation. The question of Baptism had not then been so deeply studied as it afterwards was; and the dreadful crimes, the fanatical exorbitances, and the seditious and outrageous doctrines of the Anabaptists at Leyden, Munster, and elsewhere, had prejudiced all sober Christians against every opinion supported by them; even as too many zealous Protestants were irreconcileable to the noblest parts of our Book of Common Prayer, because they had pre-existed

in the Mass Book, carrying the 'noscitur ex sociis' to a blameworthy excess. But so it is; so it has been; and probably, while this imperfect state continues, so it ever will be. And here too, as everywhere, the folly of man is the wisdom of God. For in this we find an additional and irrefragable proof of the divinity of the Scriptures, which everywhere, and under the strongest human inducements to do otherwise, preserve the Heavenly medium between extremes. What had been said of Baptism during the times when few, if any, but adult, tried, and *built-up* Christians were baptized, was incautiously (*as appears to me*) applied in these one or two passages to the baptism of infants; which (if we will not contradict the most positive commands and determinations of the Gospel, 'Repent and believe,' and 'thou mayst be baptized,') we must regard as a sacrament of *conditional promise* and as a *means* of grace, but not as a sacrament of *effect*, and an immediate *conveyance* of grace. But still, ... even with respect to the Liturgy, those who hold the doctrine I have now avowed stand on higher ground than our opponents. For the prayer evidently implies, that the actual operation of the Spirit is future and conditional. The whole prayer is *prospective*—'Grant that this child *may* receive the fulness of grace;' and therefore all that follows *may* rationally, and in my opinion ought to be, likewise understood as prospective. For what could be more absurd in baptizing an unconscious infant, than to pray that he *might* receive the fulness of grace, if the *outward act* of Baptism were a *command* of God, of universal application to all ages, from the birth (or, according to the Romanists, from the first

quickening) of the babe to the last flutter of departing old age; if its operation were irrelative to age and to the development of consciousness; and if the regenerative influences were totally, and at one and the same instant, united with the visible ceremony; even as the power of consciousness in our mortal state with the organization and organic motions of the brain? Assuredly to pray as for a thing that may or may not be given, where God has solemnly announced that it is given, and when no possible repugnance or unfitness can exist in the subject, a helpless, passive infant, (for what obstacle can a *sinful nature* present to *Omnipotence*, when the holy and gracious decree, and the permission and appointment of free agency, present none to the Infinite *Wisdom?*) assuredly to pray, instead of returning *thanks*, would introduce a strange confusion into the services offered to the God of order. We *pray* for a gift yet to be vouchsafed; but we give thanks for that which is being, or has been, bestowed. Instead of one or two sentences in the Liturgy, which the Ἐν καὶ παν ὑδριζαι (or those who teach that the Spirit is given all and at once with the water) can adduce in favour of their opinions, I can produce twice ten times the number irreconcileable with the practical conclusions which they draw from those passages."

Gentlemen, you will now easily judge whether your decision, should it be in favour of the Bishop of Exeter, will affect only five or six clergymen, as my learned friend has been dreaming: you will see that it will virtually declare that all, or nearly all, our venerable Reformers allowed, either ignorantly or designedly, a doctrine to be taught by our Church which they did

not believe: it will declare that all who entertain their sentiments, as well as all who agree with the reverend gentlemen at the bar, hold and teach doctrines not sanctioned by the Church of England. A verdict in favour of the Bishop of Exeter will brand with ignorance or dishonest connivance, not only the Compilers and Approvers of the Articles and Liturgy of our Church, but also a host of learned and pious divines from the time of the Reformation to the present day. Many eminent and illustrious prelates and clergymen, who have adorned the Church from the period when the Articles were completed, have maintained, without censure or reproach, the very doctrine for which Mr. Heber and his reverend brethren are placed at the bar; and I doubt not that hundreds of thousands of the laity have held and still hold the same views: and we are now told, and you, Gentlemen, are urged to declare by your verdict, that all these eminent and learned and pious men were utterly mistaken in supposing, that our Church did not "agree with Rome" on the efficacy of infant-baptism! Gentlemen, you have heard the evidence, and I am content to leave the question to your sober and unbiassed judgment.

Mr. Whinley, the last counsel for the Prosecution, now arose and thus addressed the jury.

Address of Counsel for the Prosecution.

Gentlemen,

You will rejoice that this important trial is at length drawing to a conclusion, and I doubt not that most of this large and respectable assembly sympathize with you in this respect. It is not my intention, nor is it, indeed, necessary, to occupy much time in laying before you, and commenting upon, the evidence against the reverend Thomas Scott. His writings, and more especially his *Commentary*, have been very extensively circulated, and most probably have already come under your observation. It will not therefore be requisite for me to do more than quote a few passages from that voluminous Commentary, by which it can be clearly demonstrated that he opposes the Bishop of Exeter's interpretation of the Baptismal Service, and, consequently, repudiates the teaching of the Church of England. I need hardly observe that Mr. Scott entertains Calvinistic opinions, because this must be manifest to any one who reads his Commentary with attention. I do not, however, mean to accuse him of holding extreme opinions—anything verging towards Antinomianism; for I must acknowledge that, after a careful examination of his writings, I find that he strongly and continually insists upon practical religion. This is so apparent that I really found it difficult to obtain satisfactory evidence that he held those dangerous notions about election

which are generally imputed to him. And had it not been for his opposition to the doctrine of invariable spiritual regeneration in infant-baptism, I protest to you, Gentlemen, that I could have wished his Commentary to be in the hands of all my fellow-countrymen; but that unhappy error on the baptismal question neutralizes the good which his writings would otherwise effect. I will now state the reverend Thomas Scott's views on this important point. He defines regeneration, or the new birth, as "The beginning of spiritual life, without which we can no more live a heavenly life, than we could an earthly one without being born into this world."

To this definition I have nothing to object, and had Mr. Scott only added that Baptism was invariably the beginning of this spiritual life, at least to infants, the present proceedings would never have been commenced against him. He soon, however, shows that he entertains that heretical opinion which the Bishop of Exeter feels it his duty to denounce, wherever and in whomsoever he discovers it. Mr. Scott quotes with approbation an extract from the writings of a foreign Reformer, Beza, who held that regeneration did not always accompany baptism. "Neither yet did He (Christ) simply bind the grace of God to baptism, as if it was absolutely, and without any exception, necessary; seeing He just after ascribes regeneration to the Spirit, without any mention of water." This will prepare you to hear what follows from the pen of Mr. Scott himself. "If baptism," he says, "and being 'born again,' be terms of the same meaning, or if the one invariably accompanies the other, so that all who are rightly baptized

are regenerate and none else; then all who die unbaptized, even infants as well as others, all over the earth, and in every age of the world, without exception, are shut out of heaven! A proposition far more dreadful than any held by the most unfeeling and presumptuous Supra-lapsarian Calvinists." And in another place, where Christ intimates to Nicodemus that there are things in the natural world which he cannot account for, and therefore that he ought not to consider regeneration as impossible, merely because he cannot comprehend in what way it is effected: "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth; so is every one that is born of the Spirit." Mr. Scott remarks: "As the same word signifies both *spirit* and the *wind*, in the original languages, the similitude has a peculiar propriety, if being 'born again' be interpreted of the communication of divine life to 'the dead in sin.' But if understood of baptism exclusively, or what always accompanies it when rightly administered, there seems nothing appropriate in it. The administration of baptism is *evident*, and most *publick*, foreseen, and appointed. Every thing relating to it depends on 'the will of man,' of the baptized person in adults, of parents and sponsors in infants, and of the officiating minister in both cases. But if the thing signified, as not inseparable from the right administration of baptism, be intended, the whole depends absolutely on the sovereign will of Him who commands and governs the winds and waves."

Many more passages from this gentleman's Commentary might be brought forward as evidence against him;

but that is quite unnecessary, as you cannot doubt from what has been now read, that he does not teach the invariable regeneration of infants in and by baptism. And as I mean to show you, before I conclude, that the Church of England "condemns as heresy the denial of the unconditional efficacy of baptism in the case of all infants duly baptized," you will, of course, feel bound, however painful it may be to your feelings, to give your verdict against the reverend Thomas Scott.

In order to prove that our Church holds this doctrine, little more will be necessary than to examine the Baptismal Office and the Catechism; for the doctrines of the Church are, of course, best understood by her Formularies. So writes a high authority, Bishop Burnet, in his *Pastoral Care*. "The truest indication of the sense of a Church," says he, "is to be taken from her language in her public offices. This is that which she speaks the most frequently and the most publicly; even the *Articles of Doctrine* are not so much read, or so often heard of, as her *Liturgies* are: and as this way of reasoning has of late been made use of with great advantage against the *Church of Rome*, to make her accountable for all her *public offices* in their plain and literal meaning, so I will make use of it on this occasion. It is stronger in our case, whose Offices being in a tongue understood by the people, the argument from them does more evidently conclude her."

This ought to be a sufficient answer to the learned counsel, who insisted so much on a reference to the Articles for an explanation of any thing which might seem doubtful in the Formularies of our Church. Were any thing really doubtful, such a reference would be proper;

but in so plain a case as this, it cannot be requisite. The words are, "This child is regenerate." Surely, there is no room whatever to question the meaning of this declaration. The Church plainly and positively affirms the regeneration of the baptized child, whatever that may be; and regeneration is, as the accused individuals in general, and Mr. Scott in particular, fully agree, *the beginning of the divine life in the soul.* To say that this language is hypothetical, or must have a charitable construction, is to promote the negation of every Article of our Christian faith, by asserting, insinuating doubtful interpretations of the Church's voice, even when she speaks upon the most solemn subjects in her most authentic tone. A charitable construction! A qualified construction! What is that? Why, Gentlemen, it is a construction not strictly, not literally true. Now apply this to the first question in the Catechism, "What is your name?" Or to this other, "What dost thou chiefly learn in these Articles of thy belief?" Does then the child's name require a charitable construction? And must the child say, but only in a doubtful or qualified sense, "First, I learn to believe in God the Father, who hath made me and all the world?" And this is the charitable construction! Miserable misnomer! Where do the advocates of this system find their type of such a charity? Not surely in the Word of God. The charity of Scripture is rooted in faith, and upheld by hope: the charity of the clergymen at the bar refuses to believe and cares not to hope. But, Gentlemen, you cannot, I am sure, think it needful for me to combat such a notion as this. The words, I repeat, are so plain that it is folly to refer to the Articles for an explanation of them.

In the Articles themselves we may, perhaps, find expressions which are capable of being interpreted in different ways: in this case we ought to interpret the expressions by the Liturgy, and thus we shall ascertain what the Church really means. For, says that eminent Prelate, Dr. Conybeare: "If expressions should occur which cannot be determined by passages in other Articles, then will it be proper to inquire whether they may be fixed by our Public Liturgy, or by any other monuments which have the sanction of ecclesiastical authority. The propositions set forth in any of our Articles ought to be understood in such a sense as is consistent with every other determination of the Church; because the Church cannot be supposed to intend one thing in some of her public acts, and the direct contrary, in others."

These are great authorities, Gentlemen, and we cannot do better than learn from them how we ought to be guided, when the Articles are silent on any particular subject. The private opinions of individuals (however eminent for their piety, for their learning, and for other qualities) are not to be considered, but simply the public acts and declarations of the Church. All, therefore, which my learned friend has read to you from the writings of the Reformers are quite irrelevant. The extracts merely shew the private opinions of those eminent men, but are of no authority whatever. It is to the public acts and declarations of the Church, I repeat, that we must refer, in order to ascertain whether the doctrine of unconditional regeneration of infants in baptism be, or be not, held by the Church of England. I request your attention then, Gentlemen, to those Articles which treat of the sacraments generally, and of Baptism in

particular, namely, Articles XXV., XXVI., XXVII., and XXVIII. The twenty-fifth and twenty-seventh Articles declare what baptism is, and what are the effects of baptism; and the latter Article tells us that "the baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ." But the difficulty is, how can these Articles shew the effect of Baptism on infants, since they can (as such) have neither repentance nor faith, which the Articles teach are necessary to "the wholesome operation of the sacraments?" How then are children to be brought within the description of those who are to be regenerated—to be, "as by an instrument, grafted into the Church?" We must, I repeat, leave out of sight the private views of the Reformers, and refer entirely to the public declarations and acts of the Church for a solution of this difficulty. Infants being born in sin cannot, it is asserted, be worthy recipients of the sacrament. How then are they made worthy? Is it not in and by baptism? What else can make them worthy recipients? Some persons say, that those baptized infants who die in infancy are made worthy by a prevenient act of grace; but where does our Church assert this? Nowhere. You will find, on examining the Baptismal Service, that it is in and by the act of baptism that the child is regenerated. The congregation are exhorted to pray for the child that it may be regenerated by the Holy Spirit; that the water may be sanctified to the mystical washing away of sin; and that the child now to be baptized therein may receive the fulness of God's grace, and ever remain in the number of God's faithful and elect children. It has,

indeed, been explained that the mystical washing does not mean the actual, but the sacramental, washing away of sin—that there is some mystery, something beyond that which exactly meets the eye, is to be the mystical washing away of sin, through the sanctification of the water; but I cannot exactly see the force of such reasoning, and therefore I must take the liberty of understanding the words literally. Nor can I understand how any person can suppose the plain and unequivocal declaration of our Church, that the baptized child *is* regenerate and grafted into the body of Christ's Church, to mean that it is conditionally so. That any one who uses the Baptismal Office can yet deny or dispute the position that our Church maintains, that always to infants, and to adults rightly receiving, regeneration is given in baptism, and, so far as man is authorized to pronounce, in baptism only, might appear incredible, if the experience of more than two hundred years had not, unhappily, furnished us with too many instances to the contrary. The Church doubtless wishes her language to be taken literally, since she causes her ministers to say, "Seeing now . . . this child *is* regenerate, &c."; and invites the people to thank God for these benefits, and to pray that the child may lead the rest of his life according to this beginning. And the minister proceeds to thank God that it hath pleased Him to regenerate the baptized infant with the Holy Spirit,—as they had just prayed that he would do,—to receive him for his own child by adoption, and to incorporate him into His holy Church. All this had been previously asked of God in prayer, and now thanks are returned that these benefits have been conferred. The

Church positively declares that all this *is* so—not that it will be so on condition that the child fulfils what were promised by the sponsors. It is a declaration, clear, precise, and distinct. There is a positive prayer for "regeneration by the Holy Spirit," and an absolute declaration by the Church, that the child "*is* regenerate," and thanks are returned to God for that blessing. The same is declared of infants privately baptized, when no stipulations are made by sponsors. I cannot see how it can be said that these promises are *implied*. The Church gives no intimation of such a thing. The child, if it lives, is afterwards to be brought to Church, and its sponsors make promises in its name; but this has nothing to do with baptism. This is not in order that he may be regenerated; for that has already been done as fully as in public baptism. It proves that all which is essential to baptism is, the water and the words, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." All the prayers, &c., in the public form, is a matter of order, of decency, of submission to the will of God, and of an earnest desire to obtain for the infant that which is sought; but there is nothing essential in all this. And so it is to satisfy the Church that it was duly baptized, and to secure the right education of the child, that it is afterwards publicly received into the congregation of Christ's flock. What room is there for stating that this is merely conditional, and that the Office of Public Baptism is also conditional?

With regard to the Office for adults, it is allowed by all that regeneration is conditional on faith and repentance. But it is asked, If one office out of the three

forms is hypothetical, why are not the other two to be construed hypothetically? I answer, Because persons in riper years have not only committed actual sin, and have need of repentance, but they also *know* it, for they are to be instructed before they are baptized. They therefore come in their own right—enter into promises in their own persons, and must be supposed to promise with a sincere intention to perform all they engage to do. Here is a marked distinction. Infants, who promise by their sureties, are admitted to baptism; and if they die before they commit actual sin, they are "saved," according to the declaration of the Church. But adults, who know what they have to perform and do, and who make promises in their own persons, are necessarily considered as entitled to the benefits of baptism only upon the supposition, that they are sincere in their promises of faith and repentance. The Church knows that the infant cannot have committed actual sin before baptism; but in the case of the adult it can only rely upon his outward profession of faith and repentance. The Church does not declare of adults that if they die after baptism, and before they commit actual sin, they will be saved. But it says that the child is placed by baptism in a state of eternal salvation. If it be baptized, and if it die before actual sin, it is certain from God's Word that it will be saved. I say, therefore, that the Services are materially distinguished from each other. In the case of adults, the Church must necessarily act on a charitable hypothesis: in the other, it is absolute and unconditional.

When the baptized children are instructed, what kind of teaching does our Church supply? From first

to last the teaching rests on the absolute declaration of their being regenerate. Here is no hypothesis, no doubt that the child is in any other situation than that in which he was placed by baptism—a state of salvation. He prays for grace that he may not fall away—may not by sin lose the grace conferred by baptism. He says the Articles of his belief. Here is no hypothesis. He is taught that the sacrament is "an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace"—a sacrament ordained by Christ "as a means whereby we receive the same,"—that is, the grace given to us. I cannot understand how a doubt can be raised on these words, "What is the inward and spiritual grace;" that is, the grace which was conferred—regeneration by the Holy Ghost for the remission of sins—what is this grace? "*Ans.* A death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness; for being by nature born in sin and the children of wrath, we are hereby made the children of grace." Then the child is taught that repentance and faith are required of persons to be baptized, and that infants promise to repent and believe by their sureties. Hence the Church admits the latter to baptism, on the supposition that, if they should live and come to years of discretion, they will perform what their sureties engaged they should do. But she tells us that the baptized infants, who die before actual sin, are undoubtedly saved; consequently, that they are absolutely regenerated *in and by baptism.* Prevenient grace is not the mode; the Church says nothing about that.

The same doctrine of unconditional regeneration of baptized infants runs through all the Catechisms sanctioned by our Church. Dean Nowell, for instance,

teaches this doctrine. He says baptism is not an empty sign, or a deceitful sign; but beneficial—an effectual sign of grace; that is, of course, to the faithful receiver. But infants cannot be deemed unfaithful, since not capable as yet of faith and repentance; but to them the promise made to the Church of Christ, in whose faith they are baptized, shall for the present time be sufficient.

Let us proceed to Confirmation. On the children acknowledging that they are bound to believe and do all things promised by the sponsors, the Bishop, in the following prayer, speaks of them as God's servants whom He had regenerated by water and the Holy Ghost, and to whom He had given the forgiveness of all their sins. This shows that it was by and through baptism they had become regenerate and received forgiveness of their sins. What charitable hypothesis can there be here? It is a positive declaration that these things *are* so. If therefore the words of the Office are to be taken in their natural and literal sense, the doctrine of unconditional regeneration in the baptism of infants is sufficiently established. As to the term regeneration, I will not trouble you, Gentlemen, with the various definitions that have been given of that word. It is defined by our Church in the Catechism to be "a death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness;" and this will be admitted by all the clergymen who stand at the bar. When this takes place, persons are translated from a state of nature to a state of grace, favour, and blessing, and become the temples of the Holy Ghost. And this effect is produced on every child, baptized by a lawful minister, in and through the

means of baptism. The declaration of our Church on this point is positive and precise.

But it has been said, the Reformers embraced the opinions of Calvin, and, therefore, they could not have intended to declare that *every* child is placed by baptism in a state of regeneration. I do not, however, attach much force to this argument, because we know not to what *extent* they embraced the opinions of Calvin. They determined nothing with respect to Predestination and Election. It is evident, from the seventeenth Article, that they left this question open to Calvinists and Arminians. I do not think they entertained the doctrine of Predestination and Election; for they hardly could be guilty of leading parties into the belief, that there was a doctrine of faith to be embraced which is not taught in the Articles. But I ask again, To what *extent* did the Reformers hold this doctrine of Election? Did they believe that the elect only have faith and repentance? It is surely impossible; for, I ask, could they, entertaining such a view as this, have expressed themselves as they have done in the Baptismal Offices? Could they have said that all baptized children are regenerated?—that all baptized children who die before they commit actual sin are undoubtedly saved? Yet this argument has been brought forward, that the Reformers, believing in election, could not mean the words "regenerate," "remission of sins," &c., to apply to any but the elect. This is to oppose the literal and general meaning of the Baptismal Service. This is to oppose all forms of prayer. It goes to the root of all religion whatever; for if this is to be the faith of the Church, where is the necessity for prayer at all? What

encouragement is there for a person to inform himself of the will of God, if he is assured that before his birth his fate was determined, and that nothing he could do—nothing that could be done for him—could avert it; but that, by the irreversible decree of God, his future state was fixed either for eternal happiness or eternal misery? The promises of the Gospel are freely made to all who repent. They are not confined to the elect. There are names, undoubtedly of the very highest authority, which go the length of saying, that the persons who receive the benefits of baptism, must have faith and repentance. Martyr and Bucer may go to that extent. I do not think, however, that Cranmer is to be made responsible for all they may have said. But if he did hold this doctrine, if Latimer, Ridley, and other Reformers believed in election, still their private opinions cannot enter into the consideration of this question. Nor can reference be made even to Scripture, since the Church has, it is presumed, given her decision according to Scripture; and we, the members of the Church, are bound to accept her own interpretation of Scripture. The inquiry must be, What has the Church said in her Articles and Formularies? If the words, indeed, are ambiguous, and cannot be construed by other public acts of the Church, then it would be right and proper to advert to the opinions of these persons; but, so long as the Articles and the Services of the Church are reconcileable, and not only reconcileable, but necessarily to be construed with a literal interpretation; you are not at liberty, as Bishop Conybeare says, to put an interpretation upon them of a different character. If a doctrine is laid down in the Baptismal Service, and

in other Services, and in the Rubrics, then you must take that doctrine, and those expressions, in their literal sense, for we are bound to consider the true meaning of the words, and not allowed to indulge in fancy, or to explain them by the opinions expressed by private individuals. The points to be ascertained are (1) What is the doctrine of our Church as to the efficacy of infant-baptism? and (2) Does the accused, Thomas Scott, deny that doctrine? As to the first point, you cannot, I think, Gentlemen, entertain the shadow of a doubt that the Church teaches unequivocally, that the thing signified, namely, regeneration, is given at the moment of baptism. Though such a doctrine may appear to approximate to the Roman Catholic doctrine of the *opus operatum*, it is surely held by our Church. There is no *obex* in the way when infants are baptized; therefore they receive the benefit, whatever it may be; and it is "spiritual regeneration" according to the words of the Formulary of our Church. Mr. Scott denies this doctrine: he denies that spiritual regeneration is always conferred on infants in and by baptism: he holds a doctrine utterly inconsistent with the sacramental character of baptism, and subversive of a fundamental Article of the faith; and, consequently, it is your clear, though it may be most painful, duty to bring in a verdict of guilty.

Mr. Bodenor, the counsel on behalf of the reverend Thomas Scott, now rose, and spoke to the following effect.

Address of Mr. Scott's Counsel.

Gentlemen,

Had my learned friend made no other reference to Mr. Scott's Calvinistic opinions than that with which he commenced his address, I should have deemed it unnecessary to allude to them; because it was acknowledged that he held no extreme views, and that in his writings he strongly insisted upon practical religion. It would not in this case have been requisite for me to speak of my reverend friend either as a Calvinist or Arminian, because this is a matter which has nothing whatever to do with the question under your consideration. For it is unquestionable that thousands, who hold what are called Arminian sentiments, are quite as much opposed to the doctrine of the absolute, unconditional regeneration of baptized infants, as is Mr. Scott, or any others who are denominated Calvinists. This fact has been too often lost sight of; and it has been attempted to ascribe the opposition to the Bishop of Exeter's interpretation of certain passages in the Baptismal Service to Calvinists exclusively. And, which is still worse, their sentiments have been grossly misrepresented, and consequences attributed to their opinions, which they not only repudiate, but which their lives and conversation unequivocally condemn. Such a proceeding is most unjust and dangerous. It excites prejudices not only

against a very large and highly respectable body of Christians, but against religion—against Christianity itself. For under the name of Calvinism will be found many of the vital and essential truths of our holy religion. They have been denominated the doctrines of Calvin by men who either hated the truth, and, therefore, scrupled not to affix an odious epithet to it, or were ignorant that what they were maligning are clearly and unquestionably the doctrines of Christ and his Apostles.

Some of the observations of the learned counsel are, I regret to say, calculated to excite this unjust prejudice against Mr. Scott and those who entertain similar opinions. I do not mean that my learned friend wished or expected to excite such prejudice by anything which he advanced, respecting the supposed tendency of Calvinism. He is, doubtless, unacquainted with the tenets to which he has attributed so many evil consequences, and therefore is unwittingly guilty of injustice towards a host of the most pious, learned, and devoted Christians. He has founded an argument against the doctrine of conditional regeneration, as held by Mr. Scott and the other clergymen at the bar, on the imaginary evil consequences arising from a belief in Predestination and Election. He found it so difficult to evade the force of the argument brought forward by one of my learned friends, namely, that the Reformers *could* not mean that spiritual regeneration was *always* conferred on baptized infants, because they believed in *election*, that, in order to neutralize the effect of such an argument, he calls Predestination and Election the doctrine of Calvin, points out I know not how many dreadful evils as flowing from such a doctrine—neglect of prayer, indifference

about knowing or doing the will of God, and, in short, as striking at the root of all religion: and then he exclaims, The Reformers could not surely hold the doctrine of Election! But finding the evidence so strong that the fact could not be controverted, my learned friend then asks, To what *extent* did the Reformers hold the doctrine of Calvin? The doctrine of Calvin! Does not every reader of the Bible know that election is there clearly and unequivocally enunciated? Could Calvin then be the inventor of it? Hundreds of thousands hold it, and millions have held it, who never read any of Calvin's writings. It was and is believed because it is found in Holy Scripture—not, indeed, as it has been caricatured by the learned counsel, as going to the root of all religion, and rendering prayer and the other means of grace unnecessary; but (according to our seventeenth Article) as a doctrine "full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort." The Reformers did not consider it as calculated to give comfort to any who live in sin and neglect prayer, but only "to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their minds to high and heavenly things." This doctrine is held by both Arminians and Calvinists, although they interpret it differently; the former maintaining that men are elect because God foresees that they will repent and believe; the latter, that they repent and believe because they are elect. The former make repentance and faith the cause of their election; the latter attribute their election to the sovereign grace of God, and consider repentance and faith as the necessary fruits, not the cause of

their election. As to Reprobation, no such doctrine is recognized by our Church.

As the learned counsel desires to know to what extent the Reformers held this doctrine of Election, I answer, They held it — not as it is misrepresented, abused, and vilified by the ignorance, folly, mistakes, and licentiousness of men, but—as it is propounded in the Bible, declared in the seventeenth Article of our Church, and embodied in her Formularies. They who abuse this doctrine, and seek to be wise above what is written, *may* carry it to the extent to which the learned counsel intimates it must be carried by those who hold it; but he is labouring under a very great mistake in supposing that any, who receive it as it is really set forth in Holy Scripture, will thus abuse it; for they who believe that God "hath constantly decreed (as our seventeenth Article states) by his counsel secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom He hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation," will endeavour in their doings to follow God's will as it is "expressly declared unto us in the Word of God."

They who have calmly and dispassionately studied the doctrine of Election by the light of Scripture, come to very different conclusions, respecting its tendency, from those who examine it by the aid of reason alone. They cannot see how a doctrine should lead men to neglect the means of grace, and to imagine that they shall be saved although they live in sin, when they are expressly told, that the purpose for which they are elected is, that they "should be holy and without blame before God." They cannot allow that it encourages

vice and immorality when they find the Scripture, which teaches this doctrine, maintaining that "God hath not called us unto uncleanness but unto holiness;" and that "we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them." They cannot see how any man, who takes the Bible as the rule of his conduct, can make election his plea for omitting one single duty, when he is told by the inspired Apostle: "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of His good pleasure:" when he sees that the grace of God is urged as a reason why men should be—not slothful and careless and indifferent, but—diligent, fervent, and unwearied in the work of faith and labour of love: when he reads that men are called and chosen to be "a peculiar people, zealous of good works;" and when he finds that men have no ground whatever to suppose themselves elect, unless "they give diligence to make (their) calling and election sure," and "add to (their) faith virtue; and to virtue knowledge; and to knowledge temperance; and to temperance patience; and to patience godliness; and to godliness brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness charity."

If the practical effects of the doctrine of Election were found to be so fearful as the learned counsel seems to apprehend, there might be some reason for doubting whether it proceeded from God. But the experience of ages testifies, that this doctrine produces no such baneful fruits. It is the abuse of it which leads to evil; but for this it is no more responsible than is Christianity for the oppression, treachery, vice,

and cruelty, which have been perpetrated in the name of religion. And had the learned counsel, instead of condemning the doctrine of Election as Calvinistic, carefully examined whether it were not really a Scriptural doctrine, he would scarcely have fallen into the error of attributing so many practical evils to it. He would hardly have ventured to insinuate that a doctrine, clearly enunciated by the Holy Scriptures, would lead to the neglect of prayers and endeavours, indifference to the ordinances of religion, and to remissness in the duties of morality. A very little inquiry and observation might have convinced him, that these sad results of a belief in election were imaginary. He would have found that men holding this opinion were neither less moral, less zealous in good works, less careful to "live soberly, righteously, and piously in the present world," than those of opposite sentiments. That really pious and zealous Calvinists and Arminians are diligently aiming at the same thing, pursuing the same course, and urging others to seek the prize of their high calling in Christ Jesus, and, consequently, that the doctrine of both is attended with the same practical effects, might be inferred from the following anecdote respecting two well-known characters, and has been abundantly proved by the lives of them both:—"A young minister, about three or four years after he was ordained, had an opportunity of conversing familiarly with the great and venerable leader of the Arminians in this kingdom; and, wishing to improve the occasion to the uttermost, he addressed him nearly in the following words: 'Sir, I understand that you are called an Arminian; and I have been sometimes called a Calvinist;

and therefore I suppose we are to draw daggers. But before I consent to begin the combat, with your permission I will ask you a few questions, not from impertinent curiosity, but for real instruction.' Permission being very readily and kindly granted, the young minister proceeded to ask, 'Pray, Sir, do you feel yourself a depraved creature, so depraved that you would never have thought of turning unto God, if God had not first put it into your heart?'—'Yes,' says the veteran, 'I do indeed.'—'And do you utterly despair of recommending yourself to God by anything that you can do; and look for salvation solely through the blood and righteousness of Christ?'—'Yes, solely through Christ.'—'But, Sir, supposing you were first saved by Christ, are you not somehow or other to save yourself afterwards by your own works?'—'No: I must be saved by Christ from first to last.'—'Allowing, then, that you were first turned by the grace of God, are you not in some way or other to keep yourself by your own power?'—'No.'—'What, then, are you to be upheld every hour and every moment by God, as much as an infant in its mother's arms?'—'Yes, altogether.'—'And is all your hope in the grace and mercy of God to preserve you unto His heavenly kingdom?'—'Yes; I have no hope but in Him.'—'Then, Sir, with your leave, I will put up my dagger again; for this is all my Calvinism: this is my election, my justification by faith, my final perseverance: it is, in substance, all that I hold, and as I hold it; and, therefore, if you please, instead of searching out terms and phrases to be a ground of contention between us, we will cordially unite in those things wherein we agree.' "

Gentlemen, I will not withhold from you the names of the two excellent men to which this anecdote refers. He who is there denominated "the venerable leader of the Arminians in this kingdom," was John Wesley; and the "young clergyman," now old and grey-headed, and standing at this moment among my accused friends at the bar, was—Charles Simeon.

I cannot but think that my learned brother must regret that he had not taken some pains to ascertain what Calvinism is, and also what is the manner of life and conversation of those who hold this much-vilified doctrine, before he ventured to speak of it in such terms as he has done. Had he examined a few of the sermons written by Calvinistic divines, he would have found that they invariably inculcated good works, as the natural and necessary fruits of the faith possessed by the elect, and that they teach that no persons have any solid ground for thinking themselves elect, unless they are "zealous in good works." Had he even consulted the Article on Predestination in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, which was evidently written by one who is no Calvinist, he would scarcely have used the language to which I have adverted: "Whatever may be thought of the practical tendency of the two opinions," observes the writer of that article, "there is one remark which we think ourselves bound in justice to make, although it appears to us to be somewhat singular. It is this, that from the earliest ages down to our days, if we consider the character of the ancient Stoics, the Jewish Essenes, the modern Calvinists, and Jansenists, when compared with that of their antagonists, the Epicureans, the Sadducees, Arminians, and the Jesuits, we

shall find that they have excelled, in no small degree, in the practice of the most rigid and respectable virtues, and have been the highest honour of their own ages, and the best models for imitation to every age succeeding."

The writings of Bishop Horsley would also have supplied the learned counsel with information as to the tenets which he thinks so dangerous, and so repugnant to the doctrine of the Church of England. That eminent prelate observed: "I know not what hinders but that the highest Supra-lapsarian Calvinist may be as good a Churchman as an Arminian; and if the Church of England in her moderation opens her arms to both, neither can, with a very good grace, desire that the other should be excluded." A few years afterwards, the Bishop wrote to the same effect: "I have often before asserted, and by God's grace I will persist in the assertion to my dying day, that so far is it from the truth, that the Church of England is decidedly Arminian and hostile to Calvinism, that the truth is this: that upon the principal points in dispute between the Arminians and the Calvinists—upon all the points of doctrine characteristic of the two sects—the Church of England maintains an absolute neutrality: her Articles explicitly assert nothing but what is believed by both Arminians and Calvinists." It is *extreme* views which that learned Prelate exhorted his clergy to avoid: an Ultra-Calvinist and an Ultra-Arminian might both at length become practical if not avowed infidels. "The Calvinistic doctrine," said the Bishop, "is too apt to degenerate into the errors of the Antinomians, and the Arminians into those of the Pelagians; but true Cal-

vinism and true Arminianism are guiltless of both. I have long been persuaded that the best thing for the Church would be, that the Calvinistic controversy, as it is called, should be suffered to go to sleep, and the worst thing will be, if it is kept alive by being made the perpetual topic of preachers in common congregations. It relates to points involved in so much obscurity—so far above the powers of the human mind—that the differences of opinion upon them among the very best Christians can never cease, because the difficulties never can be cleared up; and the effect of the controversy will never be to reconcile the jarring opinions, but to dissolve brotherly love, and disunite the members of Christ's body."

This scriptural doctrine was taught by our Reformers in the "Short Catechism," published in 1553. "To the furnishing this Commonwealth (Christ's Church) belong all they, as many as do truly fear, honour, and call upon God, wholly applying their mind to holy and godly living; and all those that, putting all their hope and trust in Him, do assuredly look for the bliss of everlasting life. But as many as are in this faith stedfast, were *forechosen*, predestinate, and *appointed out to everlasting life, before the world was made*."

In the Catechism published in 1559, and embodied in the Service for Confirmation, children were taught (as at present) to profess their belief in God the Holy Ghost who sanctifieth them, "and all the *elect* people of God." The Reformers taught this doctrine, as our Church teaches it now, in the Collect for All Saints' Day:—"O Almighty God, who hast knit together thine *elect* in one communion and fellowship, in the mystical

body of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord." We pray in the Burial Service, "that it may please God of His gracious goodness shortly to accomplish the number of His *elect*, and to hasten His kingdom."

But admitting that our Reformers determined nothing respecting Predestination and Election—that is, did not "define that in which the knot of the whole difficulty lies; that is, Whether God's eternal Purpose or Decree was made according to what He foresaw His creatures would do, or purely upon an absolute will, in order to His own glory"—but left "these questions open, in order that both parties (Arminians and Calvinists) might be embraced in the Church," is it reasonable to suppose that they would prepare a Service for public use, which taught a doctrine that no man who believes in election, whether in the Arminian or Calvinistic sense, can possibly hold, namely, that all baptized infants—not only those who die in infancy, but all who live to a responsible age—are born of God, and made new creatures in Christ Jesus? This is a doctrine which, as one of my learned friends has already shewn, was not held by our Reformers; if, then, they meant that both parties should be embraced in the Church, they could not consider the words of the Baptismal Service as declaring absolutely that all baptized infants are spiritually regenerate; for this would have been to exclude themselves, and all who embrace their views, from the Church of England.

But, says the learned counsel, as if feeling the force of this argument and yet anxious to evade it, "You must shew me to what extent Cranmer, and Latimer, and Ridley embraced this doctrine (Election) and de-

clared their adherence to it as the doctrine of the Church." It is surely evident enough, I answer, from what has been adduced from the Articles and Prayer Book, that our Reformers held the doctrine of Election, and taught it to the members of the Church of England. Whether they wished it to be interpreted in an Arminian or Calvinistic sense, it completely demolishes the *opus operatum* doctrine, which, according to the Bishop of Exeter's interpretation, seems to be taught in the Baptismal Service. An infant, in whom God's foreknowledge discerns no faith nor repentance, from the age of responsibility to his last moments, cannot, in the opinion of either Calvinists or Arminians, be regenerate, or born of God; and, therefore, the expressions, "regenerate," "made a child of God," &c., can only be used as the language of faith, hope, and charity. Neither party can believe that the mere performance of baptism invariably confers on infants the inward spiritual grace, or regeneration. And as the expressions which, at first sight, appear to favour the *opus operatum* doctrine, are capable of different interpretations, equity surely demands that that meaning should be put upon them which is agreeable to the well-known sentiments of our venerable Reformers. The inspired writers themselves have, in some places, used language which, if literally understood, would be quite repugnant to the doctrine they have taught in other parts of their writings. If, then, the words of Scripture often require to have a "favourable construction" put upon them, is it strange that our Prayer Book, which contains so much of Scripture, should sometimes require to be interpreted differently from the *apparent* meaning?

My learned friend justly observed that "we are bound to consider the true meaning of the words;" but the literal meaning, or such as it appears at first sight to a common understanding, is not always the "true meaning;" and, therefore, it is not fair to leave out of consideration the well-known opinions of the Reformers, and to say: "The words mean so and so: they can have and shall have no other meaning, whether they oppose your real opinions or not,—no, not if they are proved to be contrary to the Word of God, when literally understood; for we are not determining the truth or falsehood of a doctrine, but whether the *opus operatum* of infant-baptism is taught by the Articles and Formularies of our Church. You (the Reformers) may be quite opposed to that doctrine, and, therefore, could not, as honest men, mean to teach it to the members of the Church; but, as you have allowed certain expressions to remain in the Baptismal Service, which, being literally understood, sanction this doctrine, we determine that it is taught by the Church of England."

Were the inspired writers to be thus treated—were every expression in the Bible to be confined strictly to the sense which a common understanding would, at first sight, put upon it—we should soon be involved in strange contradictions. A man might suppose that he must "hate father and mother," in order to become a true Christian. "Some say, The words are plain," observes Bishop Jewel; "Christ himself spake them: he is Almighty, and can do whatsoever he will. . . . . The words must be taken even as they lie, they must not have any other construction. . . . . Now, let us consider the words of Christ, 'This is my body;' and

'This is my blood.' These words, you say, are plain, open, easy, and manifest. So are they, yet, albeit they are plain, they must have a right construction. The plainest words that be, unless they be duly expounded, may breed error."

The learned counsel inquires, Does the child's name, when asked in the Catechism, require a charitable construction? I ask, in return, Is it strictly and literally true that his name was given by his Godfathers and Godmother at his baptism? Was it not given previously by his parents, perhaps months or years before he was *publicly* received into "the congregation of Christ's flock?" John the Baptist's name was given long before he was circumcised; and that which had previously been given was afterwards publicly and formally conferred. So it is with regard to the inward and spiritual grace—regeneration. It may be given before the child is publicly signed and sealed as regenerate; or he may be, in the eye of the Church, regenerate many years before he be regenerate in the sight of God.

But having shewn that no such evil consequences as my learned friend apprehends have sprung, or can spring, from the doctrine of Election, rightly understood, I may be allowed to notice the evil and dangerous tendency of the doctrine of Invariable Regeneration in infant-baptism, which the Bishop of Exeter seeks to have established by authority, as the doctrine of the Church of England. The evil effects of this doctrine are clearly seen in the Church of Rome, where outward ordinances are substituted for inward grace, and faith in Christ virtually superseded by faith in the Church.

Is it said that I am now falling into the very error for which I have censured my learned friend, namely, attributing consequences to a doctrine which they who hold it altogether repudiate? I answer, The cases are widely different. The *opus operatum* doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration is only an inference, and not a clearly revealed doctrine, of Scripture: nay, it is plainly repugnant to numerous passages of Scripture, and therefore it is perfectly legitimate to make the holders of such a doctrine responsible for all the consequences. But the doctrine of Election is, by all parties, allowed to be scriptural. And therefore when men attribute to it such evil consequences as those stated by my learned friend—consequences which they who believe in election totally deny, and which experience testifies have no existence, except among those who abuse the doctrine—they cast reflections upon God himself. It is confessedly a mysterious doctrine; but so long as it is propounded in Scripture it should be received and held, whatever evil consequences may seem to flow from it owing to the temerity and wickedness of men. Let the *opus operatum* doctrine of invariable regeneration in infant-baptism be proved to be agreeable to God's Word, and we will receive it without regard to consequences. Facts strongly prove that scriptural doctrines have a far more beneficial effect, than those doctrines which the wisdom of men has devised, although, in theory, the former may seem to involve the most dangerous, and the latter, the most beneficial consequences.

The scriptural doctrine of Election, it is supposed by some persons, leads either to presumption or despair, and to a neglect of prayer and vigilance, and to an in-

difference about the duties of morality, as matters which cannot affect our future condition, whether we are, or are not, predestinated to life eternal: while the *opus operatum* doctrine—the teaching that every baptized infant is absolutely born of God, and a new creature in Christ Jesus—is thought to lead to diligence, watchfulness, and earnest endeavours to preserve so inestimable a birth-right. But what says experience? It tells a very different tale. It proves beyond controversy that, both in individuals and in nations, the scriptural doctrine produces the best consequences, while the doctrine sprung from tradition—the *opus operatum* of Popery—leads to formalism, hypocrisy, immorality, and infidelity. If the doctrine of Election were so dangerous, and the *opus operatum* so beneficial as have been represented, the classes over which each exercises its influence respectively would, of course, manifest what are said to be their peculiar fruits. Are those fruits then such as my learned friend supposes? What is the general condition of the people where the *opus operatum* doctrine is submissively received? What is the state of Italy, Spain, Ireland? Do not infidelity, superstition, immorality, and crime abound in those countries? And does Holland or Scotland, where the doctrine of Election is generally held by the people, manifest those baneful fruits which are supposed, by some persons, to be produced by that doctrine? On the contrary, the people of these latter countries are vastly superior in morality and piety to the population of the former countries. Thus is the wisdom of man proved to be foolishness, and the foolishness of God—as the wise of this world esteem the doctrines of Revelation—is found to be

the highest wisdom, and conducive to the best interests of mankind.

But we have no need, Gentlemen, to extend our view to foreign countries, in order to ascertain whether the *opus operatum* doctrine be true or false; we have only to look around us, and even in this Protestant country we shall find living arguments innumerable to convince us, that spiritual regeneration is not always conferred on baptized infants. For consider our Church's definition of regeneration—"A death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness." Now, there must be some analogy between the natural and the spiritual birth of man, or such an expression as "born again," would hardly have been used in Scripture, to denote the great change which God works in us when we are regenerated. When a child is born into the world, he not only exhibits signs of life, but daily grows in stature. There are, indeed, some children born who exhibit no signs of life, and who are found, on examination, to be dead. But this is comparatively a rare case. It is the exception, not the rule. Bear this in mind, Gentlemen, when you think of the new birth unto righteousness. Are we not to expect that, according to analogy, the spiritually born will exhibit signs of spiritual life? Ought we not to suppose that, as they grow in stature and advance in years, they will grow in grace and be active in doing works suitable to the spiritual man? And though a few might be found without any signs of vitality, yet these would be the exception: the vast majority of the spiritually born might naturally be expected to be alive, grow, and shew proofs of their heavenly birth. If then all infants receive in and by baptism the grace of re-

generation, we have reason to expect that, as the great mass of the Christian world is baptized in infancy, Christians generally would exhibit signs of spiritual life, and that very few comparatively would be dead in trespasses and sins. What then is the fact? Are all those, or even a large portion of those, who are "born again" of water, made partakers of the inward and spiritual grace? Are they truly born of God? We can judge of the spiritually born only as we judge of the naturally born, by the effects. In the latter we find, generally speaking, life and activity; and we are authorized to expect spiritual life, and progress in holiness, in those who are born of God. This we learn from Scripture: "Whatsoever is born of God," says St. John, "overcometh the world;" and "Whosoever is born of God sinneth not; but he that is begotten of God keepeth himself, and that wicked one toucheth him not." Now, all baptized infants, says the Bishop of Exeter, are born of God; are they then such as the Apostle describes? Let the following extract, from an authority which Dr. Philpotts must respect, answer this question: "There are millions—aye, I fear, I cannot be contradicted, when I say millions—of the population of this country, who are as much without the knowledge of God who made them, of the Saviour who redeemed them, of the Holy Spirit who alone can sanctify them, as any of the wildest savages, who butcher and devour their fellows in New Zealand or Madagascar. The result is such as might be expected. In the furious passions, the perverted faculties, the maddened affections, the scorn of all moral restraints, and contemptuous resistance to every other —in one word, in the unrenewed hearts of these our

countrymen—men 'without hope and without God in the world'—there is laid up a store of woes for England, the elements of a wider and more irreparable devastation, than any which the history of man has ever yet recorded." Be it remembered, Gentlemen, that of these millions, a vast proportion—perhaps nineteen-twentieths—have been baptized in their infancy, and, according to the Bishop's view of baptism, have been actually born of God, have received a new nature, "a new birth unto righteousness," by having been brought to that sacrament which affords, says his Lordship, "the only opportunity of being born again." These millions, it is asserted, were made, not merely in the eye of the Church, not merely in the judgment of charity, but necessarily, absolutely, and in the sight of God, members of Christ, partakers of a spiritual nature, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven.

This must have taken place in them because, says the learned counsel, the words are plain—They "are regenerate." It seems to have been quite forgotten that the same words, when uttered by different persons, or applied to different persons, may have a widely different signification. As used by our Church they are perfectly correct. They are meant for *believers and their children*. No others are recognized as being of the Church; and to no others do the promises belong; and therefore no others are entitled to baptism: but believers and their children are declared at baptism to be regenerate, or at that time made in the eye of the Church—what the former were already, and what the latter, it is hoped, in due season will be in the sight both of God and man—children of God and heirs of heaven.

But evil as well as good are found within the inclosure of the visible Church, which, as we cannot distinguish them (except by overt acts) are all charitably regarded as true and faithful members; and, therefore, the same language is applied to all. When, however, opportunity has been given to manifest who are, and who are not, truly regenerate, that language is no longer suitable to the latter.

It will, doubtless, be very gratifying to the "millions" to be told, that they are "regenerate," and partakers of the Divine life, though apparently not a spark of that life was ever in them: but this is to misapply the language of our Church. She limits the term "regenerate" to believers and to those who, she hopes, will be such at a responsible age. But to tell such wretched beings as the "millions" before referred to, that they are members of Christ, and inheritors of heaven, is to keep them under an awful delusion. They are not, and never were, truly born of God; for their uniform conduct plainly shews that, although baptized of water, they have not received the baptism of the Spirit—the inward and spiritual grace.

The epithet "regenerate," as used by the Church and by the world respectively—though the word is plain—has a very different meaning. It is understood by each, much as the words "good living" are, by the different parties. The Church means by "good living," a virtuous and Christian life and conversation; the world means the gratification of earthly and sensual desires. These different meanings of the same expressions, according to the perceptions of the persons who respectively use them, are well illustrated by the excellent

Doddridge, in his epigram on the motto, "*Dum vivimus vivamus.*"

> "'Live while you live,' the epicure will say,
> 'And give to pleasure every passing day.'
> 'Live while you live,' the sacred preacher cries,
> 'And give to God each moment as it flies.'
> Lord, in my view, may both united be,
> I live to pleasure while I live to thee!"

It is, I repeat, the forgetfulness of this distinction which leads my learned friend and others into the inconsistency of maintaining, that these "millions" were not only accounted as, and numbered with, those who overcome the world, but were actually made such persons by baptism, although they are the veriest slaves of sin, the world, and the flesh! *The wicked one toucheth not him who is born of God;* and yet these "millions," whom Dr. Philpotts pronounces absolutely born of God, are Satan's willing captives—prompt and eager to do his will! "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God," says the Apostle. These "millions" were made the sons of God by baptism, the Bishop of Exeter affirms; and yet they manifest no signs of being "led by the Spirit of God." How is this to be accounted for? "How is the efficacy of Christian baptism," asks a writer like-minded with the Bishop of Exeter, "to be reconciled with the actual state of those who have been baptized?" This is a knotty point, Gentlemen of the jury; and yet it is cut through by the querist, as if it were the easiest matter in the world. It is no difficulty to him. "The testimony of human observation," he says, "is to be entirely and altogether set aside!" So that according to this

gentleman's teaching, we are not to judge of a tree by its fruits. The main point to be ascertained is, Has the tree been grafted? If so, it is, of course, a good tree although, as far as we can discern, it bears nothing but crabs! "Think," says this advocate of the invariable regeneration of infants by baptism, "Think of addressing those as faithful brethren in Christ; as quickened together with Him, and sitting in heavenly places in Him; who are addicted to intemperance and lust, or who may be denying the fundamental truths of the Bible. Think of our inviting into our Christian assemblies, and addressing as beloved in Christ, the thousands who are living without God in the world; who know nothing of His service and worship; and who perhaps scarcely remember that they have entered a Church, or bowed the knee unto Jehovah. . . . . It can be scarcely a subject of surprise, that an inconsistency so palpable as this should forcibly strike the mind, and suggest a difficulty with respect to the initiatory rite of the Christian Church."

And how do you think, Gentlemen, that this difficulty, which the Popish view of infant-baptism, held by this writer and Dr. Philpotts, places in our way, is to be removed? Oh, nothing can be easier! "We cannot *see*," he gravely observes, "that a Christian is one who is risen again; but he is spiritually, though not ostensibly or manifestly, a new man!" . . . "It is a point," he says, "to which, above all others, we must apply the Christian rule, We walk by faith, and not by sight. We have nothing but the bare Word of God to rely upon."

What can the wildest fanatic—what can the most

licentious Antinomian—what can the veriest slave of the vanities of the world and the lusts of the flesh—regard as more comfortable and satisfactory than such teaching as this? And yet, Gentlemen, it is for opposing a view of baptism which has led to this sort of teaching, that my venerable friend, Mr. Scott, together with his reverend brethren at the bar, are accused of holding "an awful heresy!" It is in order to remove every obstruction to such teaching, in all the congregations of our Church, that the learned counsel urges you to bring in a verdict of guilty against these gentlemen, and intimates that, unless you do so, you will be "guilty of a grievous violation of a plain duty!"

But is it really true that we have the authority of God's Word for believing that all who have been baptized in infancy are, and must be, though we cannot see it, spiritually regenerate—new creatures in Christ Jesus? Is it indeed scriptural faith to believe that the millions, who "are living in every kind of worldly folly and frivolity," and are the slaves of the grossest profligacy, and who even "deny the fundamental truths of the Gospel"—that these are all children of God, and "faithful brethren in Christ," because they have been baptized in infancy? Gentlemen, you well know that the Bible teaches no such horrible doctrine: you well know that we are to judge of men by their actions, as we judge of a tree by its fruits. It is not faith, but Antinomianism and blind delusion, which lead men to account themselves or others as God's children, so long as they are manifestly living in sin and utter forgetfulness of God. "In this," writes St. John, "the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil:

whosoever doeth not righteousness, is not of God. . . . Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin." Such a man cannot be a wilful, deliberate, and habitual sinner; for, although the remains of a corrupt nature are there, he is daily striving against it, and the habitual desire of his mind is, to be holy as God is holy.

But does our Church teach us to believe, that these millions of baptized heathen are "spiritually, though not ostensibly, new men?" No. She accounts no persons the children of God unless "they walk religiously in good works." "Such is the power of the Holy Ghost to regenerate men," it is said in one of her Homilies, "and, as it were, to bring them forth anew, so that they shall be nothing like the men that they were before. Neither doth he think it sufficient inwardly to work the spiritual and new birth of man, unless he do also dwell and abide in him. . . . . How shall I know that the Holy Ghost is within me? some man perchance will say." "The testimony of human observation," answers the writer whom I have just quoted, "is to be entirely and altogether set aside." If, therefore, he has only been baptized by a lawful minister (and he can generally ascertain this by a reference to the Register of Baptisms in the parish where he was born), he may be sure that he is one of "the faithful brethren in Christ." Very different is the answer which our Church gives to this question: "Forsooth, as the tree is known by his fruit, so also is the Holy Ghost. The fruits of the Holy Ghost, according to the mind of St. Paul, are these: love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance." Such are the effects which both Scripture and our

Church attribute to the "new birth unto righteousness;" and unless men shew by their life and conversation that they are new creatures in Christ Jesus, renouncing sin, the world, and the devil, and seeking after holiness, there is no ground whatever for believing that they are the children of God, notwithstanding their baptism in infancy. To set up baptism, or any thing else, as a substitute for this scriptural test—"By their fruits ye shall know them"—is to bring men under an awful delusion.

In illustration of the tendency there is in divines, who believe in the invariable regeneration of baptized infants, to substitute baptism for this scriptural test, I beg to quote the following short passage from a funeral discourse, preached by an American clergyman. He was telling his congregation that the deceased was truly converted to God, and this is the evidence which he adduced:—"He was baptized. The record and proof of that his conversion is in the Church Book at Granville, New York. At the sacred Font there, his sins were washed away, and he was regenerated." If any one doubts whether this Popish notion can be entertained by men who call themselves orthodox ministers of our Church, and regard others that hold different sentiments as little better than heretics, let him read the following certificate, given by a clergyman of the Diocese of Exeter. I do not mention his name, Gentlemen, because it is my hope that he may live to be heartily ashamed of having written such a document.

> "'No. 16. August the 29th, 1813. Richard, Son of Richard and Sally Boundy, Little Dean, husbandman.'

"I certify that the above transcript is a true and literal copy by me made from the sacred Registry of Regeneration, commonly called Baptism, in the Church of M——, in the Diocese of Exeter, for the day and year above written. And this certificate of the second birth of the said Richard Boundy I have extracted and signed this eighteenth day of April, in the year of the Church 1850.

"2*s.* 6*d.* R. S. H., Vicar of M——."

When you hear of such preaching, and read such documents as the specimens here adduced, can you have any doubt, Gentlemen, as to the tendency of the sentiments held by the party, which has ranged itself under the banner of the Prosecutor? Why is this party so anxious to have the invariable regeneration of baptized infants established as a ruled doctrine of the Church of England? Because it will materially promote that which is unquestionably the object of those troublers of our Zion—the unprotestantizing of our Church, and the assimilation of its doctrines and practices to those of the Church of Rome. It is the sharp end of the Popish wedge which is now attempted to be driven into our Church. Admit this doctrine, and all the others will follow as a matter of course. The men who are notoriously adverse to the Reformation, and cast much obloquy on the character of our venerable Reformers, are zealous and untiring advocates of this doctrine; for they well know that, if received by our Church, it will at once divest it of the title which has hitherto been its glory—the Church of the Reformation. Gentlemen, I make no gratuitous asser-

tions on this matter: I bring before you evidence of the doctrines of the men who are urging the Bishop of Exeter to root out from his Diocese every clergyman who preaches the doctrines of the Reformation, and to encourage those who are of opposite sentiments. For consider what are the opinions and what the practices of Dr. Pusey, the friend of the Prosecutor, the man who was received with open arms by his Lordship, when the University of Oxford prohibited him from preaching, in consequence of his heterodox and Popish notions—consider the reverend Professor's sentiments, as they are well described by one of his friends, one who boasts that he has been "fighting side by side" with Dr. Pusey, for what he terms "the same holy truths." Examine, I say, Gentlemen, what these divines have been and are now fighting for, and then determine whether it be "Popery, rank Popery," or not.

"You have been one of the foremost," says this writer to Dr. Pusey, "to lead us on to a higher appreciation of that Church System, of which sacramental grace is the very life and soul. Both by precept and example you have been amongst the most earnest to maintain Catholic"—that means, according to this writer, as you will soon see, Gentlemen, Popish—"principles. By your constant and common practice of administering the sacrament of Penance:"—Here, you see, Gentlemen, is another step towards Rome. Our two Sacraments are already increased to three, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and Penance:—"By encouraging everywhere, if not enjoining, *auricular confession*, and giving priestly absolution; by teaching the *propitiatory sacrifice* of the Holy Eucharist, as applicatory of the one sacrifice on

the cross, by adoration of Christ *really present on the altar, under the form of bread and wine;* by your introduction of Roman Catholic books 'adapted to the use of our Church'; by encouraging the use of rosaries and crucifixes, and special devotions to our Lord, as *e. g.* to his five wounds; by adopting language most powerfully expressive of our incorporation into Christ, as *e. g.* our being inebriated by the blood of our Lord; by advocating counsels of perfection, and seeking to restore, with more or less fulness, the conventual or monastic life;—I say, by the teaching and practice, of which this enumeration is a sufficient type and indication, you have done much to revive amongst us the system which may be pre-eminently called 'Sacramental.'"

This extract will shew you, Gentlemen, why these Romanizers are so anxious to make it appear that our Church teaches, that grace is conferred by the mere performance of the sacrament. They limit this, at present, to infants; but let the principle be once admitted, and, I repeat, all the other doctrines and practices of Rome, of which "sacramental grace is the very life and soul," will be sure to follow. You observe that Dr. Pusey, who has "done much to revive amongst us the system which may be pre-eminently called 'sacramental,'" has advanced so far towards Rome, that he can have little difficulty in completing his journey. The tenet which the Bishop of Exeter is now labouring to get established in our Church, has undoubtedly facilitated the reverend Professor's Romeward progress. But so far is our Church from "agreeing with Rome" on this point, as the Prosecutor asserts, that she utterly repudiates it. For it is one of those matters on which

there is a material difference between us and Rome. "It is a tenet in the Church of Rome," says an eminent Prelate, "that the use of the sacraments, if men do not put a bar to them, and if they have only imperfect acts of sorrow accompanying them, does so far complete those weak acts, as to *justify* us: This we do utterly deny, as a doctrine that tends to enervate all religion; and to make the sacraments that were appointed to be the solemn acts of religion, for quickening and exciting our piety, and for conveying grace to us, upon our coming devoutly to them, become means to flatten and deaden us: As if they were of the nature of charms, which if they could be come at, though with ever so slight a preparation, would make up all defects. The doctrine of sacramental justification is justly to be reckoned among the most mischievous of all those practical errors that are in the Church of Rome. Since, therefore, this is nowhere mentioned, in all these large discourses that are in the New Testament concerning Justification, we have just reason to reject it: Since also the natural consequence of this doctrine is, to make men rest contented in low imperfect acts, when they can be so easily made up by a sacrament, we have just reason to detest it, as one of the depths of Satan: The tendency of it being to make those ordinances of the Gospel, which were given us as means to raise and heighten our faith and repentance, become engines to encourage sloth and impenitence."

But whatever arguments be advanced, or evidence produced, to shew that this "sacramental system" belongs exclusively to Rome, the learned counsel still insists that our Church holds a tenet, which may be

called, the initial of that system. Again and again has my learned friend stated, that the words are plain, and are to be taken literally: and yet, with remarkable inconsistency, he interprets the very same expressions conditionally in the case of adults, which he insists upon taking literally in the case of infants! Now, if the matter is to be determined by the *words themselves*, without any reference to the Articles or Formularies of our Church, regeneration must be understood to be conferred by baptism *in both cases*. Unbelieving and hypocritical adults, as well as unconscious infants, must, according to this rule, be absolutely made by baptism "members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven." This, however, is a position which the learned counsel feels—and well he may—to be untenable. He therefore refers to the twenty-fifth Article, in order to shew that the words in question, "These persons are regenerate," are meant to be conditional when applied to adults. And does he bring forward any Article to prove, that they are meant to be absolute and unconditional, when applied to infants, as he was in equity bound to do? No such thing. He merely adverts to a Postscript, at the end of the Baptismal Service, which applies only to those baptized infants who die before they commit actual sin; and hence he infers that our Church considers, that *all* baptized infants are unconditionally regenerated by baptism! He proves one point by a clear declaration, that only those who worthily, that is, with faith and repentance, receive baptism, are regenerate; while he attempts to prove the other by a mere inference from a Rubric pertaining not to *all* but only to a few infants com-

paratively. He says, indeed, that all infants must receive baptism worthily, and, consequently, that it must have a "wholesome operation" on them, because of their freedom from actual sin: but this "*must*" is a mere assumption. The Church has given no decision upon the matter; and for the best of all reasons—because Scripture is silent upon it. But she evidently teaches, by using the *same* expressions in the Offices for adults and infants, that spiritual regeneration is conditional in both cases. "The Church," says one of our Prelates, whom my learned friend just now quoted, "cannot be supposed to intend one thing in some of her public acts, and the direct contrary in others." It was really quite painful to see my learned friend involving himself in such difficulties and contradictions, and vainly struggling for escape from the dilemma into which he was brought. Will he allow me to suggest that the charitable hypothesis, as it is called, will at once extricate him from his disagreeable position? Let me here briefly repeat it.

"Our Church esteems the children of believers as 'beloved for the fathers' sakes;' and as she assumes, in a judgment of charity, that believers are presenting their children in faith, she accepts them in virtue of the promise, and in reliance on the same promise enrols them in her communion of saints. They profess, and she believes their profession; and this she does on the principle which she has so plainly expressed in her seventeenth Article: 'We must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture.' She accepts the profession of the parties as true: the responsibility of *asserting* lies with

them; the kindness of charitable *assumption* distinguishes her." There is not one formulary, or a single prayer, which is not formed on the assumption, that they who use them are what they profess to be, real Christians. In the Baptismal Service, both minister and people bless God that it hath pleased Him to regenerate the baptized infant with His Holy Spirit, in answer to the prayers which had been offered on its behalf. The child is taught, as soon as he is old enough, that he was made a member of Christ and the child of God, at his baptism; and that the Holy Ghost sanctifieth him and all the elect people of God, among whom he has been placed. He is accepted by the Bishop, at Confirmation, as a believer, as "regenerate by water and the Holy Ghost," as having received "the forgiveness of all his sins." He is then admitted to the Holy Communion, and he joins the minister and people in saying: "We most heartily thank thee, for that thou dost assure us thereby of thy favour and goodness towards us; and that we are very members incorporate in the mystical body of thy Son, which is the blessed company of all faithful people." When he enters into the holy estate of Matrimony he is again addressed as God's servant and a believer in Christ. When he is on the bed of sickness and death the same language is used; and at his Burial, he is consigned to the grave as a believer, and, consequently, in the sure and certain hope of his resurrection to eternal life. "From the beginning to the end of this exquisite array of Church-fellowship the same principle appears in active prominency. A saint is introduced into the communion of saints at baptism, and in this holy character he is

uniformly entertained by the Church, so long as he can be a partaker of her communion, and till her means of grace have, under the Divine blessing, perfected him for glory."

All this is confessedly on the charitable assumption that they who use these services are Christians; and if they be such, nothing can be more proper: if they be very different persons, on themselves rests the guilt of using language which was meant for, and belongs only to, believers. But who does not see the absurdity of maintaining that, because the Church puts such language into the mouths of her members, she teaches that they are all really such as they profess to be? Her language shews what she expects them to be, and what they ought to be, and, so long as their outward conduct does not belie their profession, what she considers them to be. But she does not presume to invade God's prerogative by deciding absolutely who are his children indeed. She knows that on earth the wheat and the tares are permitted to grow together until the time of harvest; and that it is not for her to make the separation.

The arguments which the learned counsel founds on the exhortations, and prayers, and thanksgivings, in the Baptismal Service, in order to prove that infants are absolutely regenerated in and by baptism, are, as I have already shewn, equally valid in favour of the unconditional regeneration of adults. Yet he allows that, in the latter case, it is the language of faith and charity, although the expressions are equally "clear, precise, and distinct," as in the case of infants. Such are the inconsistencies and contradictions into which my

learned friend is continually plunging, in order to maintain the Bishop of Exeter's and the Church of Rome's theory of the invariable efficacy of infant-baptism. The very passages which he has quoted from the Catechism and the Confirmation Service, in order to prove that our Church speaks positively and unconditionally, will be found, on examination, to prove just the contrary. For instance, the Church teaches her youthful members to say, that by God's help they will believe and do what their sureties promised for them—that they heartily thank their heavenly Father for calling them to a state of salvation—that they believe in God the Father who made them; in God the Son who redeemed them; and in God the Holy Ghost who sanctifieth them and all the elect people of God. Is there, I ask, no charitable hypothesis in all this? Can it be seriously maintained, that every child and youth who repeats the Catechism truly believes these things, and is heartily thankful to God for his mercy? Young persons repeat to their teachers, that a sacrament is "an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace, given unto us, as a means whereby we receive the same"—that is, says the learned counsel, "the grace given unto *us*." Now is there no charitable hypothesis here? Are not the words *we* and *us* used conditionally? We receive grace—the benefits of the sacraments are conferred upon *us*, if we are what we profess to be. They are taught that repentance and faith are necessary to persons who come to baptism; and that even infants, who cannot yet repent and believe, promise them both (repentance and faith) by their sureties before they are baptized. Is there nothing conditional here?

But these promises are not needful to baptism, says my learned friend; for in cases of exigence infants are baptized without them, and are pronounced regenerate. But do not the directions given respecting such infants clearly show that such promises are implied? If the infants live, they are to be brought to Church, and sponsors are to make publicly those promises which were before implied. Yet the learned counsel maintains that there is nothing hypothetical in all this, but that it is positive and unconditional! He says again, adverting to the declaration concerning baptized infants dying in their infancy, that they are undoubtedly saved, and, consequently, says he, regenerated in and by baptism, and not by prevenient grace—the Church says nothing of "prevenient grace." It is not enough for the learned counsel—it is not enough for his right reverend friend, the Bishop of Exeter—that Mr. Scott and the other clergymen at the bar fully believe, that all baptized infants who die before they commit actual sin are undoubtedly saved, and, of course, regenerated, unless they also believe that they are regenerated and saved *in and by baptism*. This they cannot believe, except in the sense in which Scripture declares that baptism saveth us; namely—not outward baptism, not the "washing away the filth of the flesh," but—the washing in the fountain of Immanuel's blood, which alone cleanseth us from our sins, and makes us fit for an eternal inheritance. And although this fountain is evidently pointed out by the water of baptism, and the attention of her members directed by our Church to the thing signified through the outward sign, when she prays—"Sanctify this water to the *mystical* washing

away of sin;" yet the learned counsel cannot allow, that our Church teaches any other regeneration than that which is conferred by water-baptism. He cannot see that there is any mystery—any thing beyond that which actually meets the eye. Nothing will satisfy him but that men shall believe that, by the mere performance of baptism, believing adults, and infants always, are spiritually regenerated. I appeal to your calm and deliberate judgment, Gentlemen, whether such a view is either reasonable or scriptural, consistent with the general tenor and spirit of the Articles and Liturgy of our Church, or supported by experience.

But the learned counsel says, that Dean Nowell sanctions this view of baptism, because he states, that "to infants the promise made to the Church of Christ, in whose faith they are baptized, shall for the present time be sufficient." Sufficient for what? Their admission to the covenant of baptism—sufficient for them to receive that outward sign and seal which publicly and formally entitles them to the name of "members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven," but which cannot make them *actually* such; although the grace of God may do this before, at, or after baptism, according to His good pleasure. As the children of professedly believing parents, they have, of course, an interest in the promises attached to the Christian covenant as *a part of their parents* for the *present time;* but "when they are grown to years," says Dean Nowell, "they must needs themselves acknowledge the truth of their baptism, and have the force thereof to be lively in their souls, and to be represented in their life and behaviour." But suppose,

as in the case of the millions who live in sin and forgetfulness of God, "the force thereof is not lively in their souls," and, consequently, is not "represented in their life and behaviour," are we to believe that the Divine life is, or ever was, in them, although from infancy to manhood they had shewn no signs of it? The absurdity of this will be seen at once, if we reason, as before, from analogy. A child born into the world could not continue for years without exercising the functions of natural life: how then can a child, to whom the spiritual life has been communicated, live to twenty, thirty, forty years, or upwards, without ever manifesting any signs of that spiritual life?

But Dean Nowell says, that "baptism is not an empty or a deceitful sign, but a beneficial and an effectual sign of grace:" and who denies this? Not Mr. Scott, not any of the clergymen at the bar; for this is in perfect accordance with the Articles and Formularies of our Church. But to whom is it a "beneficial and effectual sign?" To the impenitent adult, or to the infant who never manifests in after life the smallest sign of spiritual grace? No. "The faithful alone," says Dean Nowell, "receive this fruit"—"forgiveness of sins and newness of life." If therefore the baptized infant grows up to maturity, and continues careless and unconcerned about spiritual things, he cannot be regarded as one of the faithful who "receive this fruit." He cannot be considered as having received the Divine life into his soul. But should a child die in infancy, there is no question as to his having received that grace—that new life—which fits him for heaven, and of which baptism is, in his case, an effectual sign and

seal: yet this grace is not necessarily conferred at the very moment of baptism. "We must," says the learned and pious Archbishop Usher, "distinguish of elect infants baptized, whereof some die in their infancy, and never come to the use of reason; others God hath appointed to live and enjoy the ordinary means of faith and salvation. . . . In the former case, (that of infants dying before they commit actual sin) the inward grace is united to the outward sign"—*united*, observe, Gentlemen: the Archbishop does not say conferred at the precise time of baptism, and still less does he affirm, with Dr. Philpotts, that it is conferred by baptism only: but in regard to those appointed to live to years of discretion, "we have no warrant," says the Archbishop, "to promise constantly an extraordinary work to whom God intends to afford ordinary means; for though God does sometimes sanctify from the womb, as in Jeremy and John Baptist, sometimes in Baptism as He pleaseth, yet it is hard to affirm, as some do, that every elect infant doth ordinarily, before or in baptism, receive initial regeneration, and the seed of faith and grace; for if there was such a habit of grace then infused, it could not be so utterly lost or secreted as never to shew itself, but by being attained by new instruction. But we may rather deem and judge, that baptism is not actually effectual to justify and sanctify, until the party does believe and embrace the promises."

Contrast this language, Gentlemen, with the dogmatical assertions of those divines who declare, as if speaking with the voice of infallibility itself, that "always to infants, and to adults rightly receiving, regeneration is given in baptism, and, so far as man is authorized

to pronounce, in baptism only;" and who accuse all who differ from them on this point of holding heretical opinions, and seek to drive them out of the Church of England. It is not merely the clergymen at the bar who are implicated in this charge of heresy. Thousands of the clergy and millions of the laity, who regard them as faithful and orthodox sons of our Church, must likewise be condemned or acquitted with them. Most, if not all, of our venerable Reformers laboured under the same error (if error it be), and thousands of eminently pious and learned men, during the last three hundred years, have entertained the opinions, which the learned counsel for the Prosecution have been instructed to denounce as heresy. Nay, I may go still further: I can bring forward a long list of names, venerable for their antiquity, and beloved for their labours and sufferings in the cause of Christianity; and I can prove to you that they must be placed in the same category with my reverend friends at the bar. For if all baptized infants invariably receive remission of their sins by spiritual regeneration, then are they from the time of their baptism in a justified state, and it is baptism which justifies them. This, to say nothing of its being absolutely repugnant to God's Word, was not the doctrine of the early Fathers. They almost unanimously declare, that it is "*faith* through which the Almighty God hath justified all that ever lived." What says the Prosecutor? Any persons who assert that remission of sins (or justification), adoption into the family of God, and regeneration, do not all take place in baptism, in the case of infants, are opposed to the plain teaching of the Church, and they utterly destroy the

sacramental character of baptism, inasmuch as they separate the grace of that sacrament from the sacrament itself, and, consequently, they hold an awful heresy.

Hence you see, Gentlemen, whom you are required by your verdict to condemn. Not merely George Herbert, Richard Hooker, Charles Simeon, Reginald Heber, and Thomas Scott, but a host of men, whom the Christian world has ever held in the highest esteem and veneration; such as Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Cyprian, Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Basil of Cesaræa, Ambrose, Origen, Jerome, Chrysostom, Augustine, and Bernard. "The Fathers," says Bishop Davenant, "acknowledge neither actual nor habitual faith or charity, as given in baptism to little ones: they teach, moreover, that conversion, or the creation of the new heart, which properly is to be called regeneration, is not produced in them till they come to an age capable of reason." These were all heretical, if the Bishop of Exeter's opinion as to the efficacy of infant-baptism be correct. And some even of the old scholastic divines will be found in the same predicament. Hear what the chief of them, Peter Lombard, says on this point. In answer to the question, Whether infants in baptism have "received grace, by which when they come of riper years, they may be able to will and work what is good?"—the master of the sentences answers: "It appears that they have not received it; inasmuch as that grace is love and faith which prepares and aids the will." Hence Peter Lombard must be condemned of heresy. In the same sweeping condemnation, the Prosecutor calls upon you to place Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer,

Hooper, Coverdale, Archdeacon Philpot, Dean Turner, John Bradford, Thomas Becon, Lancelot Ridley, Roger Hutchinson; Archbishops Whitgift, Sandys, and Usher; Bishops Jewel, R. Abbott, J. Prideaux, Davenant, Geste, Alley, Cooper, Bridges, William Barlow, and Andrewes, Parry, Carleton, Bedell; Dean Nowell, Bullinger, Calfhill, Whitaker, Haddon, Fulke, J. Sparke, and Thomas Rogers. From one of these writers, Wm. Barlow, chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards Bishop of Rochester, I will read a short extract. "That which was in His (God's) secret counsel," Dr. Barlow writes, "the purpose of His will being predestination, in baptism He makes it the pledge of our salvation, and only to the elect; for saith St. Augustine, in the elect only the sacraments perform really that which they present figuratively; and therefore that is no heresy, nor fancy, to call it the seal of a pre-received grace. For justification by faith, which oftentimes in those who are adults, prevents (i. e. goes before) baptism, is a pre-accepted grace, and cannot stand without a perfect remission of their sins which are so justified. What fruit then brings baptism to them? Even this: . . . . because he who thus justified cometh, ... who before was justified, and fully remitted in God's secret judgment, ... now by baptism is *made a visible member* of the Church, the sacrament being evidence of God's providence; and this was Cornelius' case, Acts x."

Passages as clearly discountenancing the Bishop of Exeter's and the Popish doctrine of absolute regeneration in baptism, might be adduced from many other early writers, as well as from the works of innumerable divines who have lived since the Reformation. And

are all these learned, pious, and excellent men, to be declared by your verdict, guilty of heresy? Is the evidence which has been offered sufficient to satisfy you that these were all wrong—the noble army of martyrs involved in an "awful heresy"—and that the Bishop of Exeter is infallibly right? Must our beloved Church be declared to have held, ever since the completion of the Reformation, a doctrine which neither the venerable Reformers held, nor thousands of the clergy and millions of the laity since their time have believed? If there be a heresy, consider, Gentlemen, which is the party that maintains it: they who "agree with Rome," or they who differ from that corrupt Church on this point. Consider well, I repeat, the evidence and arguments on both sides, and I shall have no anxiety as to the result of your deliberations. I cannot for a moment doubt, that instead of sanctioning this accusation of heresy against not only my reverend friends at the bar, but also many thousands of the most pious and learned men who have flourished in every age—I cannot doubt but that each of you will say: "After the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and in the prophets:" how then can I pronounce these men guilty?

As soon as the learned counsel had concluded his address, the judge told the jury that they might retire to their room for half an hour, in order to refresh themselves. The wearied jurors gladly availed themselves

of his Lordship's considerate permission, and were by this means better prepared to listen to the summing up and charge of the judge. Some few of the audience took the opportunity of retiring also, but the majority were too much interested in the trial to listen to the calls of hunger, or thirst, or fatigue, and seemed resolved to keep their places to the conclusion of the proceedings. The half hour having elapsed, the jury were recalled, and the judge commenced the summing up, as follows.

Summing up and Charge to the Jury.

Gentlemen,

As it is admitted by the counsel for the Defence that all the clergymen at the bar deny that regeneration invariably takes place in infants at baptism, it will be unnecessary for me to recapitulate the evidence brought forward to prove this denial on their part. The question for you to consider is, Does the Church of England teach the doctrine which these gentlemen repudiate? Before you can ascertain this, it will be requisite for you to understand what the Prosecutor, the Bishop of Exeter, means by the term regeneration. If his Lordship considers it merely a change of condition, or a change of the relation subsisting between sinful man and his Creator, there is no doubt but that baptism effects such change both in adults and infants. It brings them into covenant with God, and entitles them to certain privileges, and makes them deeply responsible for the discharge of certain specified duties.

Were regeneration to be thus explained, none of the accused clergymen would deny that it invariably takes place in baptism. But the Prosecutor concurs with the accused, in attributing much more than this to the term in question. Both parties consider that it signifies a great moral change in the soul; a change from sin to purity—from a state of condemnation to a state of salvation; a change from enmity against God to a sincere love of God; and, consequently, a change of affections and desires, objects and pursuits. It may be well, however, to state, in the words of the Prosecutor, what his Lordship thinks is effected at baptism. "Baptism," he says, "is, a Sacrament—a holy mystery, instituted and ordained by our Lord himself, in which He is in a special manner present, and by which He worketh a new creation in the soul of him who receives it, making him to be a part of His own body, and so to be entitled to an inheritance in His heavenly kingdom." Whether this definition of regeneration (or baptism, which, according to the Bishop of Exeter, are "convertible terms") be accepted, or the more concise one of the Church Catechism—"A death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness,"—the point on which the Prosecutor and the clergymen at the bar are completely at issue is, its invariable and unconditional communication to infants in and by baptism. The Bishop maintains that the Church of England teaches, that regeneration is absolutely and unconditionally given to all baptized infants, and that those who deny it are guilty of heresy, and ought to be excluded from the pale of our Church. This doctrine is unequivocally denied by all the accused clergymen; and they maintain, that it

is not taught by the Church of England. You are not, of course, called upon to determine the truth or falsehood of this doctrine; but you are required to ascertain a matter of fact. Some persons have, indeed, asserted that the Temporal Courts are usurping the province of the Ecclesiastical Courts, and even of Convocation itself, when they take cognizance of such questions. But this is a great mistake. This Court has nothing to do with the truth or falsehood of the doctrine in question; but it has to decide, from the evidence and arguments which have been adduced, whether the Church of England does, or does not, hold this doctrine. It is merely "incidentally," as the leading counsel for the Prosecution has stated, that this Court "takes knowledge whether a tenet be heretical or not;" or, as the counsel for the Defence has informed you, it endeavours to ascertain whether the parties charged with heresy are guilty of the alleged offence, before it allows the temporal penalties to be inflicted on them. The alleged offence is, the holding and teaching a doctrine contrary to the doctrines contained in the Articles and Formularies of the United Church of England and Ireland; and the temporal penalty for such offence is, the ejectment of the offending parties from the benefices which they hold, by virtue of their engagement to teach only such doctrines as are agreeable to the teaching of the United Church of England and Ireland. It is, therefore, I repeat, a matter of fact on which you are to decide. Do you find, then, that the Church of England holds the doctrine which the Bishop of Exeter asserts that she unequivocally teaches? If you are conscientiously persuaded that such is her teaching, you are

bound to give a verdict against these clergymen, in order that they may be ejected from their livings.

And here I feel it necessary to advert to one point which has been pressed upon your attention by the learned counsel on both sides; and that is, the number of persons, clergy and laity, which your verdict may affect. There can be no doubt that, whatever be your decision, thousands will feel the effects of it. But this, I am bound to tell you, is a matter which you ought to dismiss entirely from your consideration. You are to direct your undivided attention to the question, Are these clergymen guilty of holding opinions repugnant to the doctrines of the Church of England? As to consequences, you are not responsible for them, so long as you decide according to the evidence laid before you, to the best of your ability.

Had the controverted doctrine been so plainly enunciated by our Church, as the counsel for the Prosecution has maintained it is, you would have had no need to examine further evidence than that which the Articles, Liturgy, and Offices of our Church afford. But this is far from being the case, as is too evident from the various and conflicting opinions which have been entertained by the most pious, learned, and eminent men; and you are, therefore, bound to seek all the help which the writings of the Reformers, the Holy Scriptures, or any other collateral evidence may afford you. This may seem to involve an examination of the works of early Christian writers; and, as these are very voluminous, extending to one hundred and thirty or one hundred and forty large books, written in the learned languages, few of which have been translated into the English

tongue, you will naturally feel that it would be absurd for you to think of entering upon such an examination. You might, indeed, well despair of being ever able to come to a satisfactory decision of the question brought before you, had you been required to read even those ancient writers to which the learned counsel on both sides have referred. But you may dismiss your fears on this point, as it is easy to show, that an appeal to the testimony of those ponderous volumes could be attended with no useful result. When you hear, indeed, the counsel for the Prosecution confidently asserting, that the doctrine of unconditional regeneration in infant-baptism is a Catholic doctrine—that is, has always been held by the Christian Church—and giving quotations from some of the ancient Fathers in proof that it was held and taught by the Primitive Church, and hence concluding that our Church, as a pure branch of the Catholic or Universal Church, must necessarily teach this doctrine: and when you hear the counsel, on the other side, with equal confidence declaring that no such doctrine was held by the Primitive Church, and giving quotations from the same ancient Fathers, which tend to a conclusion opposite to that drawn by the counsel for the Prosecution, you must see, at once, that these conflicting testimonies can serve no good purpose. They tend to obscure rather than to elucidate the point in question. And as it has been proved that many works, ascribed to the ancient Fathers, were never written by them—that the works of others have been greatly corrupted by the mistakes and interpolations of copyists —that they used highly figurative language, which, if taken literally, would not convey the meaning of the

writers—that they contradict not only each other but themselves; and, as they were confessedly fallible men, evidence drawn from such a source ought not to have much weight in determining the question under your consideration.

The difficulty of ascertaining the real opinions of the early Christian writers on this point is, however, the less to be regretted, since we have the works of those eminently learned and pious men to whom, under God, we are indebted for the Reformation. Those works are, for the most part, to be found in our own language, and they contain the matured and deliberate opinions of men, who were not only well acquainted with the writings of the ancient Fathers, but were also "mighty in the Scriptures"—"the law and the testimony"—that infallible standard by which every doctrine ought to be tried.

Having, then, within your reach far better sources of information than the writings of the ancient Fathers, you will do well to dismiss from your minds all that conflicting evidence which the learned counsel on both sides have brought forward, in order to prove, that the doctrine of unconditional regeneration in infant-baptism was, or was not, taught by the Catholic Church. For on which side soever the scale of evidence, such as it is, preponderates, that cannot determine the question. Nor do we want to know what doctrines were held and taught by our Church for four or five hundred years or more, previous to the Reformation. We have nothing to do with the sentiments of the Venerable Bede, or Augustine, or Thomas Becket, or even with the doctrine contained in the Liturgies of this or any other country, during the dark ages. We want to know what

was the teaching of the Church of England at the completion of the Reformation. It is allowed that, previously to that important event, her clergy held and taught this doctrine, together with many other doctrines of the Church of Rome: but the question is, Did she, or did she not, reject this doctrine no less than Transubstantiation, Purgatory, Extreme Unction, and the other fond inventions of which the entire edifice of Popery, properly so called, has been built? In order to ascertain this point, you will have no need of other evidence than that which you can gather from the Articles, Liturgy, and Catechism of our Church, the Writings of the Reformers, and the Word of God.

The Bishop of Exeter states, that we are still "agreed with Rome" on the efficacy of infant-baptism. That Church maintains that spiritual regeneration—the grace signified by the outward visible sign at baptism—is invariably conveyed to all persons, who interpose no obstacle to the reception of grace, "by the mere performance of the sacrament, *ex opere operato*. "Whosoever shall affirm," the Council of Trent declares, "that grace is not conferred by the sacraments of the new Law by their own efficacy (*ex opere operato*), but that faith in the Divine promise is all that is necessary to obtain grace; let him be accursed." The Bishop of Exeter concurs with Rome, so far as infants are concerned; for he says that "our Church maintains, that always to infants, and to adults rightly receiving, Regeneration is given in Baptism, and, so far as man is authorized to pronounce, in Baptism only." His Lordship also says, "*that by the sacraments* ex opere operato *grace is conferred, may be affirmed, if it be understood,*

that it is God who worketh by them." This, of course, no intelligent member of the Roman Church will deny, and therefore it is evident, that the Bishop of Exeter and the Church of Rome are fully agreed on this point. You have then to ascertain, I repeat, whether this is one of the doctrines which our Church, in common with that of Rome, acknowledges as Catholic and Scriptural, or one against which she protests as Popish and anti-scriptural. Let us examine the evidence which has been brought forward for the elucidation of this question. At an early stage of the Reformation, namely, in 1536, the Articles of the Church of England stated, that "the promise of grace and everlasting life pertaineth not only to such as have the gift of reason, but also to infants, innocents, and children; . . . . that by the Sacrament of Baptism they do also obtain remission of their sin, the grace and favour of God, and be made thereby the very sons and children of God. Insomuch as infants and children dying in their infancy shall undoubtedly be saved thereby, and else not."

Here you find, Gentlemen, that at the beginning of the Reformation the Church of England agreed with Rome on this point, and expressly determined that infants, dying before they committed actual sin, were saved by baptism, and that unbaptized infants were not saved. It was then decided, that all baptized infants, who died in infancy, had received the inward spiritual grace, or that new birth, without which none can enter into God's kingdom. It was also affirmed, "that original sin in infants could not be remitted but by the Sacrament of Baptism, whereby they receive the Holy Ghost, which executes His grace and efficacy in them,

and cleanseth and purifieth them from sin by His secret virtue and operation." This is agreeable to the doctrine maintained by the Bishop of Exeter, namely, "that regeneration is given always to infants in baptism, and, so far as we are authorized to pronounce, in baptism only." And the same doctrine is taught in a book, published by authority in 1543, and called "The King's Book." It states that "baptism is necessary for the attainment of salvation and everlasting life"—that by it "infants, being offered in the faith of the Church, receive forgiveness of their sins, and such grace of the Holy Ghost that if they die in the state of their infancy, they shall *thereby* undoubtedly be saved;" that is, they shall be saved by baptism.

But in 1562, when the Reformation may be regarded as completed, we do not find it any longer expressly stated, that in and by this sacrament infants and believing adults "shall receive of God the Father, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, remission of all their sins, and the grace of the Holy Ghost, whereby they be newly regenerated and made the very children of God;" but merely, that in such as worthily receive them the sacraments have "a wholesome effect and operation." The effect of baptism on infants is not stated in the Articles; but it is asserted, that in believing adults "faith is confirmed and grace is increased by virtue of prayer unto God." Instead of declaring that infants, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved by baptism, and that unbaptized infants are not saved, the Articles merely state, that "the baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ."

This change in the language of the Articles from a positive declaration, respecting the efficacy of infant-baptism, to a total silence on this point, is a sufficient intimation, that the Reformers did not feel authorized by God's Word to determine this matter.

But although the Articles, as we have seen, decide nothing respecting the efficacy of infant-baptism, yet if the doctrine maintained by the Prosecutor can be proved by a reference to the Formularies of our Church —if there is nothing doubtful in these Formularies, but the matter is so plain that the meaning cannot be fairly questioned—then you will be bound to give a verdict against these gentlemen.

Let us then examine the evidence adduced from the Formularies. The words which the officiating minister is required to use, after a child has been baptized, are the following: "Seeing now that this child is regenerate and grafted into the body of Christ's Church;" and then he says, "We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant with thy Holy Spirit, to receive him for thine own child by adoption, and to incorporate him into thy holy Church." These words, it is contended by the counsel for the Prosecution, can be nothing but a positive declaration of the Church, that every baptized child is absolutely and unconditionally regenerated.

On the other side it is maintained, that this declaration was not made until the child had promised, by his sureties, to perform those things which are required of persons to be baptized, namely, repentance and faith; and, consequently, that the declaration must be conditional, as in the case of an adult; that it is the

language of faith, hope, and charity; that the promises of God belong, under the covenant of baptism, as they belonged under the covenant of circumcision, to believers and their children; and therefore, that infants, on receiving the sign and seal of the latter covenant, are as properly accounted regenerate, children of God, and heirs of heaven, as the infants, who received the sign and seal of the former covenant, were accounted God's chosen and peculiar people, to whom belonged "the adoption, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises:" and yet, that in neither case is it meant that the inward spiritual grace is, or was, inseparably joined to the outward sign; that it could not be unconditionally pronounced of the infant of the Jew, that he was an Israelite indeed, but that he was regarded as such, unless his life and conversation afterwards manifested that his heart was uncircumcised; and hence it cannot be absolutely declared that a baptized infant is regenerate, a child of God, and an heir of heaven, but he is accounted such in the eye of faith and charity, until, on attaining a responsible age, he gives unequivocal proofs that he loves the world and sin better than the service of God.

On one side, it is asserted that the declaration (that a child is regenerate) must be positive and unconditional, because it is made respecting infants privately baptized, who have made no promises by their sureties. On the other side, it is maintained that the promises are implied; that the Church shows this by requiring that the child, in case it should live, be brought to Church, and that its sponsors shall make those pro-

mises on its behalf, which there was no opportunity of having done previously; that private baptism is an exception to the general rule of the Church; and that the Public Office of Baptism, in which stipulations are always made on behalf of the infant, ought to be considered as the rule of the Church, and taken as a proof that the same stipulations, though not expressed, are to be understood in every case of exigence.

As to the Rubric, on which so much stress has been laid—that "children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved"—it does not state that they are saved by baptism, nor that unbaptized children, dying before they commit actual sin, are lost for want of it. It only affirms a point in which, I understand, the accused clergymen all concur, but determines nothing respecting the state of infants who live to years of discretion. If, indeed, our Church teaches that all infants are unconditionally regenerate by baptism, it must be superfluous to tell bereaved parents, that their baptized children, who die in their infancy, are undoubtedly saved, because regeneration is unquestionably their qualification for heaven. Instead of this Rubric, therefore, being a proof that our Church teaches the invariable regeneration of all baptized children, it would rather seem to confine her decision to those who die in infancy; and, with regard to those who live to a responsible age, to leave us to judge whether they are regenerate or not, by their fruits.

The counsel for the Prosecution have strongly insisted on the importance of taking certain expressions in their plain, literal, and grammatical sense; and it is unquestionable that they ought to be so taken in all

the Services of our Church. In the baptism of adults, the words, "These persons are regenerated and grafted into the body of Christ's Church," are undoubtedly to be understood literally. The Church receives the candidates for baptism as sincere believers, and accounts them such as they profess themselves to be, and therefore scruples not to call them God's children. But no one thinks of charging our Church, because she uses this language, with presumptuously determining their state in the sight of God. In her eye they are regenerate because of their profession of repentance and faith, or, in other words, they are pronounced conditionally regenerate. But it is allowed by the counsel on both sides, that she uses the language of faith and charity. Now, whatever the words mean in one Office, they unquestionably mean the same in the other, unless our Church has qualified their meaning in one case, and not in the other. Has she, then, in any of her Formularies, asserted that adults are pronounced conditionally regenerate, but that infants are absolutely and unconditionally regenerate at baptism? No. She tells us, in the Catechism, that repentance and faith are "required of persons to be baptized;" and hence, adults themselves profess that they repent and believe, and infants make the same profession by their sureties, before they are baptized. The conditions are the same in both cases; and yet it is averred, that our Church pronounces all baptized infants unconditionally regenerate. Observe, Gentlemen, the answer which she gives to the question, "Why then are infants baptized when by reason of their tender age they cannot perform them?" *Ans.* "Because they promise them both (repentance and

faith) by their sureties, which promise when they come of age themselves are bound to perform."

Our Church, you see, does not state that infants are baptized, because (on account of their innocence) they must be worthy recipients, or because they cannot put any *obex*, or hindrance, to the grace of regeneration; but she tells us plainly the conditions on which they are received into the Christian Covenant. A covenant necessarily involves conditions, and to say that a party in such covenant receives *unconditionally* the benefits of it, is a contradiction in terms. Both adults and infants are, at baptism, publicly acknowledged as parties admitted to a covenant, and as entitled to its privileges and blessings. But although they are considered, in the eye of the Church, as inheritors of the covenant-blessings, they are not actually inheritors unless the stipulations be performed. If, therefore, the baptized, after he comes to a responsible age, does not repent and believe the Gospel, but continues in sin, and dies impenitent, can it be said that he, who never regarded the stipulations, must nevertheless have received the covenant-blessings—"a death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness?" Surely not. For we are not to understand, Archbishop Secker remarks, "either that the performance of the mere outward action doth, by its own virtue, produce a spiritual effect in us; or that God hath annexed any such effect to that alone; but that He will accompany the action with His blessing, provided it be done as it ought—with those qualifications which He requires."

It has been asserted, by the counsel for the Prosecution, that in the Church Catechism every baptized child

is taught, not that he was conditionally, or formally, and in the eye of the Church, but, *actually*, made in baptism, "a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven." But it was answered by the counsel for the Defence, that the very next question, by reminding the child of the three things which were promised in his name, shews that he is not to consider himself "a member of Christ," &c. unless he be fulfilling the promises made by his Godfathers and Godmother. He acknowledges that he is bound to believe and to do as they have promised for him, and expresses his determination to fulfil, by God's help, his baptismal engagements. He says that he believes all the Articles of the Christian faith; that he thanks God for having called him to this state of salvation; and that he prays for grace that he may continue in the same unto his life's end. This language is put into his mouth, says the learned counsel for the Defence, on the charitable presumption, that the child is regenerate, and under the influence of the Holy Spirit, who "sanctifieth all the elect people of God." But it is one thing to assume, and hope, and believe that he is a child of God, and quite another thing to maintain, that he was actually made so in and by baptism. That sacrament was the seal, or instrument, by which he was formally and publicly made one of God's people, and enrolled in the congregation of Christ's flock; but the Church does not presume to say what he may really be in the sight of God.

So also in the Confirmation Service. While the learned counsel for the Prosecution argues, that our Church teaches the unconditional regeneration of bap-

tized infants, because she requires the Bishop to use the prayer—"Almighty and ever-living God, who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these thy servants by water and the Holy Ghost, and hast given unto them forgiveness of all their sins," &c.; the counsel for the Defence maintains, that nothing can more clearly shew that the declaration that the children are regenerate, is the language of faith and charity. This prayer is not offered until the children, "being now come to years of discretion, and having learned what their Godfathers and Godmothers promised for them in baptism," have, with their own mouth and consent, openly before the Church, "ratified and confirmed the solemn promise and vow made at their baptism." What is this (the learned counsel asks) but a declaration and confession, that they repent of their sins, and believe the promises of God made unto them in the Sacrament of Baptism? And is it not on the charitable assumption that this profession is sincere, that the Church acknowledges them as God's servants, who have been regenerated by water and the Holy Ghost, and have received forgiveness of all their sins? Would any one dare to say, that all the children who come to be confirmed are undoubtedly regenerate in the sight of God, and, consequently, in a state of justification? Can the expression in the Collect for Christmas-day—"We being regenerate, and made thy children by adoption and grace"—positive and absolute as it appears, be considered as applicable to all persons who have been baptized in infancy? Does it not evidently belong only to those who "worship God in spirit and in truth," by whom alone the services of our Church are designed to

be used? "From this and other cases of the like kind, of which there are several in the Services, it seems manifest that devotional expressions, involving assertions, must not as of course be taken to bear an absolute and unconditional sense." It was on this ground that the Bishops, at the Hampton Court Conference, defended these and similar expressions, in the Baptismal and other Offices, from the objections of the Puritans.

"Throughout the several Offices," said the Nonconformists, "the phrase is such as presumes all persons within the communion of the Church to be regenerated, converted, and in an actual state of grace, which cannot be rationally admitted in the utmost latitude of charity." Now, if the doctrine of the absolute and unconditional regeneration of all baptized infants had been held by our Church, the objection might have been put in far stronger terms. The Puritans might have said, The Church not merely *presumes*, but positively declares, that all persons baptized in infancy are absolutely regenerated; but they evidently considered those expressions as the language of faith and charity, and they thought that even thus construed they exceeded all due bounds. But the Bishops defended the expressions, and clearly shewed that they did not exceed the latitude allowed by Scripture. "The Church," they replied, "in her prayers useth no more offensive phrase than St. Paul uses, when he writes to the Corinthians, Galatians, and others, calling them in general, the churches of God, sanctified in Christ Jesus, by vocation saints; amongst whom, notwithstanding there were many who, by their known sins, were not properly such, yet he gives the denomination from the whole to the greater part, to whom in

charity it was due, and puts the rest in mind what they have by their baptism undertaken to be, and what they profess themselves to be; and our prayers and the phrase of them surely supposed no more than they are saints by calling, sanctified in Christ Jesus, by their baptism admitted into Christ's congregation, and so to be reckoned members of that Society." And again: When the Nonconformists objected to the words, "I absolve thee," in the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, and wished the sentence to be as follows: "I pronounce thee absolved, if thou dost truly repent and believe:" the Episcopalian divines replied—"The Form of Absolution in the Liturgy is more agreeable to the Scriptures than that which they desire, it being said in St. John xx., 'Whose sins you remit they are remitted,' not 'Whose sins you pronounce remitted:' and the condition needs not to be expressed, being always necessarily understood." So in the case of baptized infants, whether the promises of repentance and faith be made in their name by their sureties (the counsel for the Defence argues), or whether they are only implied (as in cases of private baptism), the children are pronounced regenerate on the charitable supposition, that the promises will be fulfilled when they attain a responsible age. This is "always necessarily understood." And since many baptized children, there is every reason to fear, live in sin from the time "they come to age" even to their last moments, and die without repentance and faith, and yet all these are pronounced by our Church regenerate, members of Christ, children of God, and heirs of heaven, it must "always necessarily be understood," that they are so accounted by the Church,

until they shew, on arriving at the age of reason, that they do not "truly repent and unfeignedly believe the Gospel."

It has been asserted by the counsel for the Prosecution, that to deny the unconditional regeneration of baptized infants, is to deny an article of the Nicene Creed—"One baptism for the remission of sins:" for, says the learned counsel, if infants are not, in every case, regenerated by baptism, then they do not receive remission of their sins, but remain in an unjustified state. To this the counsel for the Defence reply, that none of the clergymen at the bar deny this article of the Creed; and that such an interpretation of the article as the counsel for the Prosecution have attached to it, is not given by our Church; and, consequently, that they cannot be justly charged with teaching a doctrine repugnant to the Church of England, merely because they refuse the interpretation which the Bishop of Exeter has put upon that article of the Creed. We all believe that article of the Creed which declares, that Jesus Christ descended into hell; but we do not all interpret the expression in the same way. Some consider, with Cyprian, that it means he descended into the grave. Others, with Augustine, that he went into the abode of Satan, but felt no torment. Some again think, with Bullinger, that the virtue of Christ's death "flowed even to the dead and profited them too." Others, that he went into Abraham's bosom, or paradise, where the souls of the faithful are received after death. But as our Church has not determined the matter, none of these interpretations can justly be denounced as opposing her teaching. This was long ago declared to be an open

question; for in 1595, Hugh Broughton, "who maintained that hell, in the Creed, means the place for departed souls between death and the resurrection, and not the place of torments, was accused of heresy; but he satisfied the Archbishop (Whitgift) on this point, and was allowed to maintain that the English Creed may speak as the Greek meaneth."

It is certainly not easy to see how the denial of the unconditional regeneration of baptized infants involves the denial of the article in question, any more than the denial of the unconditional regeneration of adults, in and by baptism, leads to a similar consequence. Yet it is allowed by nearly all parties that adults, though pronounced regenerate at baptism, are not truly regenerate, except they were sincere in their profession of faith and repentance; but these parties are not accused of denying that there is "one baptism for the remission of sins."

Let us next refer to the opinions of the Reformers. It has, indeed, been said, that no reference ought to be made to the works of the compilers of the Articles and Liturgy, or to the private opinions of those who approved of the Baptismal Offices, since the Church states clearly and unequivocally, that all baptized infants are unconditionally regenerated. But this is to assume the very point in debate. Our Church is silent in her Articles as to the efficacy of infant-baptism, although she has decided in what cases of adult baptism that sacrament will have "a wholesome operation:" and the question is, has she determined anything respecting infants in her Offices? The expressions in the Baptismal Offices, as interpreted by the counsel for the

Prosecution, have been clearly shewn to prove too much, by teaching the unconditional regeneration of all adults (believers and unbelievers) by the mere performance of baptism, which the Bishop of Exeter repudiates equally with the clergymen at the bar. Those expressions, therefore, can determine nothing but that regeneration is conditional in both cases, unless the Church has stated elsewhere, that they are to be understood conditionally, when applied to adults, and absolutely, when applied to infants. But the Church, as we have already seen, has made no such statement. It must, then, be some satisfaction to know what were the sentiments of the compilers and approvers of the Baptismal Offices. If they held the same opinion as the Bishop of Exeter, respecting the efficacy of infant-baptism, we may reasonably conclude that they meant that doctrine to be taught in the Baptismal Services; but if they believed that regeneration was not invariably conferred on baptized infants, we ought in equity to suppose, that such a doctrine is not held or taught by our Church. Let us, then, examine what were the sentiments of the Reformers.

From the quotations which the counsel for the Defence read to you, it appears that Bucer and Peter Martyr, to whose inspection the Liturgy and Offices were submitted, and who approved of them, held that baptism was attended with no benefit except to "elect infants." Hence they could not hold, with the Bishop of Exeter, that regeneration was conveyed always to infants by baptism, and, consequently, they could not suppose that the Office of Baptism taught such a doctrine.

Passages were also quoted from the writings of Thomas Becon, the chaplain of Archbishop Cranmer, to the effect, that we become "the children of God," not by baptism, but "by faith"—that infants, "as the seed of the faithful," have an interest in God's promises, and, therefore, ought to be admitted to baptism, which is the "pledge or seal of the same promise of salvation"—that the Spirit of God does not invariably attend "where the water is sprinkled"—that "true Christians, whether old or young, are not saved because outwardly they be washed with the sacramental water, but because they be God's children by election through Christ."

Bishop Hooper is equally opposed to the doctrine that regeneration invariably takes place in baptism. He says, "the sacrament maketh not the union, peace, and concord between God and us, but it ratifieth, stablisheth, and confirmeth the love and peace that is between God and us before for his promise sake." He calls it "an ungodly opinion that attributeth the salvation of man unto the receiving of an external sacrament." He says that sacraments are, "and ever hath been, the signs of God's will and pleasure towards us; testimonies and seals annexed unto the promise of grace. They be not the thing that they represent, but signs and remembrances thereof."

The venerable Latimer, when preaching before King Edward the Sixth, thus expressed himself: "'Except a man be born again from above, he cannot see the kingdom of God.' He must have a regeneration: and what is this regeneration? It is not to be christened in water, as these firebrands expound it, and nothing else. How

is it to be expounded then? St. Peter sheweth that one place of Scripture declareth another. It is the circumstance, and collation of places, that makes Scripture plain. *Regeneramur autem*, saith St. Peter, 'and we be born again.' How? *Non ex semine mortali, sed immortali:* 'Not by a mortal seed, but by an immortal.' What is this immortal seed? *Per sermonem Dei viventis:* 'By the word of the living God'—by the word of God preached and opened. Thus cometh in our new birth."

Bishop Coverdale, so far from declaring that infants are always regenerate in and by baptism, states expressly, that "God's election" is requisite.

The learned Fulke ascribes regeneration to "the mighty work of God's spirit working"—not in all children who may be baptized by a lawful minister, but—"in his chosen children."

Archdeacon Philpot, one of the martyrs, declares, "that infants be in the number or scroll of God's people, and be partakers of the promise."—By what? By baptism? No; but "by their purification in Christ;" and, therefore, he maintains, against the Anabaptists, that they ought to have "the outward sign, which is baptism in water."

Bishop Jewel agrees with a common resolution of the schoolmen, which completely militates against the Bishop of Exeter's opinion, that grace is always conferred on infants by baptism: "The grace of God," say the school doctors, "is not tied to any sacraments;" and that learned Defender of our Church maintains, that "the sacraments of Christ, without faith," are unprofitable.

Bullinger teaches, in his celebrated *Decades*, that: "The sons cannot be justified in any other way than the father before them was justified. Abraham, therefore, was not justified by circumcision, or receiving of the sacrament;" whence he leads us to infer, that Christians are not justified, or have their sins remitted, by baptism, but by faith, and that baptism is the sign and seal of the inward and spiritual grace.

What answer does the counsel for the Prosecution make to this evidence in behalf of the doctrine of conditional regeneration? Simply, that we have nothing to do with the private opinions of the Reformers—that it is their public declarations, and the teaching which they sanctioned in the Formularies of the Church, which we are to regard. But surely, Gentlemen, as that teaching has been variously interpreted, it is natural to conclude, that such an interpretation of the Baptismal Service as agrees with the recorded sentiments of the Reformers, is the one now to be received, and not that interpretation which is identical with the teaching of the Church of Rome. It is for you, Gentlemen, to consider on which side the scale of evidence from the writings of the Reformers, taken in connexion with that from the Articles and Formularies, preponderates.

Let us examine, lastly, the evidence brought from the Word of God. The learned counsel for the Prosecution observed, that Scripture had nothing to do with the question, and that we ought to confine ourselves strictly to the Formularies of our Church, and to endeavour to ascertain from them alone, whether she does, or does not, teach the doctrine of the absolute regeneration of all baptized infants. This might be admitted, had our

Church as clearly enunciated this doctrine as she has some others—all, indeed, which are really essential. But since this doctrine is merely an inference drawn from certain expressions in her Offices, and as the Articles are silent respecting it, we ought to use whatever helps we can obtain, in order to find whether the Church really teaches it. It is, indeed, particularly necessary to examine Scripture on this matter, because our Church states, in her sixth Article, that "whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an Article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." Is, then, the doctrine of the unconditional regeneration of baptized infants to be found in Holy Scripture? The counsel for the Prosecution have brought forward no evidence that it is, and therefore we may conclude, that they were unable to do so. But the counsel for the Defence have given several passages from Scripture to prove, that regeneration does not take place in and by baptism, even in penitent and believing adults. For instance, St. John says: "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God:" and again, "As many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe in his name." When men, therefore, repent and believe the Gospel, they are already born again, or regenerate; and when they go to the Baptismal Font, they receive, not regeneration, but, the sign and seal of it—of that death unto sin and new birth unto righteousness, which had before taken place in them. The faith which they had previously "is confirmed," at this sacrament, and "grace increased"—not by baptism,

but, says our Church, "by virtue of prayer unto God." By pronouncing such persons now regenerate, our Church must "necessarily be understood" to mean, that they are now (at baptism) regenerate in the eye of the Church, who were previously regenerate in the sight of God, by believing in Christ. But baptized infants are pronounced by the Church regenerate, as soon as they have received the sign and seal of regeneration, because she has seen the seal applied to them, although they may not be regenerate in God's sight until many years after baptism, or possibly they may never be spiritually regenerated. The Church, as the counsel for the Defence rightly observed, only "speaks of that which she knows, and testifies of that which she hath seen."

Scripture also declares, that the regenerate "were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." But if regeneration were always conferred on infants in and by baptism, then it would be at "the will of man;" for parents can bring forward to, or withhold their children from baptism, and the ministers can give or refuse regeneration, at their pleasure.

It is no less clearly stated in God's Word, that the regenerate—"the sons of God, are led by the Spirit of God"—"walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit," or are spiritually-minded—"do not serve sin," but yield themselves "unto God, as those that are alive from the dead, and their members as instruments of righteousness unto God:" but millions of those who were baptized in infancy, it is acknowledged with sorrow, are led by the spirit of evil, delight in sin, and die without

any signs of true repentance. Scripture, then, gives no countenance to the doctrine of the spiritual regeneration of all baptized infants. And as our Church receives no doctrine which is not contained in God's Word, it is reasonable to conclude, that she does not teach that all infants do, by the application of the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ, in and by baptism, receive the grace of regeneration.

If the words, "one baptism for the remission of sins," founded as they are on Scripture, are to be considered as proving, that sin is remitted to all infants in and by baptism, they must also be allowed to prove that baptism has the same effect on adults. But it would be preposterous to assert, that all baptized adults receive remission of sins at baptism. The unbelieving remain "in the gall of bitternes and bond of iniquity;" and, consequently, are "still in their sins," notwithstanding their baptism; and believers (as has been before shewn) had their sins remitted previously to baptism. These words, therefore, evidently have no such meaning, but point to baptism as the outward sign of the inward spiritual grace, either already received, or which may be received at a future period.

I have now, Gentlemen, briefly laid before you the evidence and the arguments of the learned counsel, omitting, however, much that was irrelevant—such as the alleged consequences of holding the doctrine of Election, and the conflicting sentiments of the early Fathers, and of the writers who lived during the four or five centuries previous to the Reformation—as I wished to turn your attention to those writings, which are best calculated to shew you what has been the teaching of

our Church, ever since the completion of the Reformation, namely, The Articles and Liturgy and other Formularies of our Church; the works of the Reformers; and the Holy Scriptures.

From the quotations given from these writings, and the arguments founded upon them, you will easily decide whether the language of the Church of England, in her Baptismal Office for Infants, ought to be interpreted absolutely or conditionally: whether the opinion of the Bishop of Exeter, which agrees with the Romish doctrine, or the opinion of the accused clergymen, which is identical with that of our venerable Reformers, be most in accordance with the teaching of our Church. You can now retire, Gentlemen, and consult together respecting the verdict which you may feel it your duty to deliver.

The jury retired to their room, and were absent for some hours. It was whispered—but how the secret had transpired I could not learn—that ten of the jurymen had made up their minds before they left the box, but that the remaining two did not agree with their brethren. They had been educated in the school of one Dr. Tradition, and had largely imbibed his opinions. Though the Doctor was nearly superannuated, rather deaf, almost blind, and very credulous, yet as he daily amused his pupils with a succession of wonderful stories, of which his retentive memory furnished him with an abundant store, his youthful listeners were quite fascinated with him. And the impression left on their minds was so deep and lasting, that in mature years his pupils

generally retained towards their teacher strong feelings of love and veneration, and esteemed his opinions as almost infallible.

Great excitement prevailed in the Court during the prolonged absence of the jury; and many persons were earnestly discussing the question which had just been argued by the counsel. At length the door of the room, in which the jury were assembled, was opened. Immediate silence now pervaded the crowded Court. Even the breathing of the numerous spectators seemed to be suspended, as every eye was turned towards the place to which the jury slowly proceeded.

The clerk of the Court then asked the jury whether they were agreed. He was answered in the affirmative. "How say you, Gentlemen," the clerk next inquired, "Are George Herbert, Richard Hooker, Charles Simeon, Reginald Heber, and Thomas Scott, guilty or not guilty of the charge of holding heretical doctrine, or doctrine which is repugnant to the Articles and Formularies of the United Church of England and Ireland?"

The foreman advanced towards the front of the box, and I eagerly bent forward to catch the verdict; but he spoke in so low a tone that I did not distinctly hear his words. Before I had time to inquire in whose favour the verdict had been given, loud acclamations arose from every part of the Court. It was in vain that the Judge and his officials commanded silence. The vociferous applause of the spectators prevented the command from being heard. I applied to several persons, in succession, for information; but no one seemed to hear me. All, except the Judge and some of the barristers, appeared to be completely carried away by their

feelings of joy and exultation. Finding, therefore, that it was quite impossible for me to obtain an answer to my repeated inquiry,—"What is the verdict?"—I at length desisted from the attempt, and sat down. I must, consequently, leave it to the candid reader himself to reply to that question, as my Dream is at an end.

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Appendix.

COPIES OF LETTERS

ADDRESSED

TO THE BISHOP OF EXETER.

[No. I.]

Butley Priory, Woodbridge,
April 24th, 1851.

My Lord,

Will you pardon a very humble individual for venturing to call your Lordship's attention to some expressions in your recent Pastoral Letter, which bear unjustly on a large number of the clergy of our Church? I allude (1) to your assertion that "The Article of 'one baptism for the remission of sins' was repudiated by the Judicial Committee." (2) To the passage in which you complain that the other bishops (with only three exceptions) "close their eyes and seal their mouths against the daring violation of an article of the Creed;" and (3) to the place where you announce your intention to invite the clergy of your Diocese to express or refuse their concurrence with your

Lordship in a declaration that they adhere to the article of the Creed, "I acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins;" which article, you allege, has been virtually denied by the Judicial Committee, and, consequently, by all those who concur with their decision.

I would entreat your Lordship, "as a father," to re-consider these statements. Surely, my Lord, thus to accuse so many of your brethren of virtually denying an article of the Creed to which they have given, and still give, their *ex animo* consent and assent, is not merely unjust and uncharitable, but is also calculated to widen the breach which now unhappily exists in our Zion. It is one thing to repudiate your Lordship's interpretation of an article of the Creed, and quite another thing to deny that article itself. Your Lordship may think that the reasons which your opponents assign for rejecting your interpretation are extremely weak: so thought your late Chaplain, Mr. Maskell; but on further examination he was led to form a different opinion; and he candidly avowed, "that the reasons and arguments of the Evangelical party had been too lightly esteemed."*

Is it not possible, however improbable, that your Lordship may ultimately arrive at a similar conclusion? But, be this as it may, I appeal to your sense of justice to determine, whether it be right to charge that party with a denial of an article of the Creed, while they

* It is, of course, impossible to state those "reasons and arguments" in a short Letter; but I have given the substance of them in a little Work, entitled "What mean ye by this Service?" which I take the liberty of sending to your Lordship. It treats of the "Article of the Creed" in pp. 37, 45, 173, 199, 200.

hold it as firmly as your Lordship can do. There can be no hope of peace for our Church, if men are to be stigmatized as heretics, by their spiritual superiors, for holding opinions which it has been clearly proved were held by most of our venerable Reformers. For, as a learned Prelate of our Church has observed, "The only possible way of a sound and lasting reconciliation, is to possess both parties with a sense of the force of the arguments that lie on the other side; that they may see they are no way contemptible; but are such as may prevail on wise and good men. Here is a foundation laid for charity; and if to this, men would add a just sense of the difficulties on their own side, and consider that *the ill consequences drawn from opinions are not to be charged on all that hold them, unless they do likewise own those consequences;* then it would be more easy to agree on some general propositions, by which those ill consequences might be condemned, and the doctrine in general settled; leaving it free to the men of the different systems to adhere to their own opinions; but withal obliging them to judge charitably and favourably of others, and to maintain communion with them, notwithstanding that diversity."

Were this course to be pursued in regard to points not clearly revealed in Scripture, and on which, consequently, our Church has not given any decision, how many disputes and heart-burnings would be avoided! And how powerful might we then be in withstanding the forces of Popery, Infidelity, and Lawlessness, which are gathering around us! May I not add, how much more happy we should be in ourselves? For, to adopt the words of the pious and judicious Hooker, "Far

more comfort were it for us (so small is the joy we take in these strifes) to labour under the same yoke, as men that look for the same eternal reward of their labours, to be enjoined with you in bands of "indissoluble love and amity, to live as if our persons being many, our souls were but one, rather than in such dismembered sort, to spend our few and wretched days in a tedious prosecuting of wearisome contentions." Matt. v. 9.

I remain,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Very humble and faithful Servant,

Samuel Hobson.

[No. II.]

Butley Priory, Woodbridge,
May 28th, 1851.

My Lord,

As you informed me that you were, and would be for several weeks, much occupied, I have deferred acknowledging the receipt of your Lordship's letter of April 29th. Permit me now, in explanation, to assure you that the few observations I made were intended to be, not so much "a remonstrance," as an humble entreaty. Having some years ago signed an address to you, after you had so eloquently and successfully exposed the principles and practices of the Socialists, I hoped that you would not think it was either unreasonable or improper in me to entreat you

to re-consider certain expressions in your late Pastoral, which charged a large portion of the Church of England with heresy. If you were infallibly certain that the views entertained by those persons were contrary to an article of the Creed, it would doubtless be your duty to denounce them, even if they were held by a vast majority in our Church. But as you do not, of course, pretend to such a certainty, I felt, and still feel, that the law of justice and charity was violated by the language to which I adverted. Your Lordship will allow, that before a charge is brought against even an individual of denying an essential doctrine, the case should be so clear that there can hardly be a doubt of his guilt; but the matter in question is so far from clear, that numbers of eminently pious and learned men have conscientiously held different views respecting it, and yet they were never, I believe, accused of denying an article of the Creed. In the recent numerous secessions from our Scriptural Church to one which is notoriously unscriptural, we see the consequence of assuming certain doctrines as true, although they are not revealed in Scripture, and then censuring our Church because she is either silent, or speaks no more positively than Scripture itself on these points. This very circumstance, which ought to have attached the seceders still more firmly to her, as a Church speaking neither more nor less than God has spoken, has led them to forsake her, and to unite with those who fondly dream, or wickedly feign, that their Church can infallibly determine matters which God has not revealed, and which men, therefore, have no right to call essentials. For, as Bishop Hall observes, "It is a golden and useful

distinction that we must take with us, betwixt Christian articles and theological conclusions. Christian articles are the principles of religion necessary to a believer. Theological conclusions are school points which form the discourse of a divine. Those articles are few and essential; their conclusions are many and unimportant (upon necessity) to salvation, either way." Forgetting this distinction, these seceders have not been satisfied with the plain statements of God's Word, but, seeking to be wise above what is written, they have fallen under so strong a delusion as to believe "the blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits" which once they abhorred. Allow me, my Lord, to solicit your serious attention to this unquestionable fact—that to men, who hold the doctrine that regenerating grace is given in Baptism to all adults worthily receiving that sacrament, and always to infants, the transition to Popery is attended with little or no difficulty; while others, who deny this doctrine, have scarcely ever been known to leave our Church for that of Rome. Why then, my Lord, should the evangelical party be designated as heretical, merely because they deny—not an article of the Creed, but—your "theological conclusions" from an article, while on all other points they are, even in your opinion, sound members of the Church of England? And why should the High-church party, who receive your interpretation, be held up as faithful children of our Church, although, as desertion from her ranks is confined almost exclusively to them, it is evident there must be something unsound in their principles? If the evangelical party, in your Lordship's opinion, "strain at a gnat," because they cannot receive your interpretation of an article of

the Creed, many of the other party "swallow a camel," since they are easily led to admit transubstantiation, purgatory, Mariolatry, Papal supremacy, and infallibility. The men whom you denounce—all, I believe—concur in Bishop Jewel's view of Baptism: "We say that Baptism is a sacrament of the remission of sins, and of that washing which we have in the blood of Christ:" you cannot, therefore, condemn them without also condemning that eminent and learned defender of our Church.

Permit me to remind your Lordship, that there is another article of the Creed, which, although we firmly believe it, all the members of our Church are accused by Romanists of denying: "I believe . . . . the holy Catholic Church." We deny this article, they say, because we do not receive it in that sense which the Church of Rome puts upon it. We are heretics for not receiving her interpretation. Will your Lordship follow such an example as this, and treat as heretics all who cannot see the reasonableness of your "theological conclusions?" Allow me respectfully to ask, Do you think it necessary to salvation to believe, that "one Baptism for the remission of sins," means that "all adults, receiving Baptism worthily, and infants *always*, are regenerated by that sacrament?" I can hardly persuade myself that you consider a doctrine which is not clearly revealed in Scripture, to be absolutely, or even generally, necessary to salvation; for it would be a reflection on the goodness and mercy of God, to suppose that He requires all men to believe, on pain of eternal damnation, a doctrine which, although men of very high intellect can, or think they can, discover it,

is not perceptible to men of ordinary minds. But if it be not an essential doctrine, can it be right to widen the breach in our Church, and to refuse to hold communion with those who have the misfortune to differ with you on this point? If they are in error, it is an error of the head rather than of the heart, and one for which God will not surely condemn them. May not, then, the advice of Gamaliel, under such circumstances, be deserving of your serious consideration? Acts v. 38, 39. And would it not be a greater consolation to your Lordship at that period (which cannot be very remote) when "heart and flesh shall fail," to reflect, that you had been trying to heal the breaches in our Church, and to build up and unite her children in all *necessary* doctrines, than to be able to boast of the most signal triumph over your opponents, who, though differing from you on one point, are attached and dutiful children of the Church of England? "Sith there can come nothing of contention," says the pious and learned Hooker, "but the mutual waste of the parties contending, till a common enemy dance in the ashes of them both, I do wish heartily . . . . that the strict commandment of Christ unto his (disciples), that they should not be divided at all, may at the length, if it be his blessed will, prevail so far, at least in this corner of the Christian world, to the burying and quite forgetting of strife, together with the causes that have either bred it, or brought it up, that things of small moment never disjoin them, whom one God, one Lord, one Faith, one Spirit, one Baptism, bands of so great force, have linked; that a respective eye towards things wherewith we should not be disquieted, make us not

. . . unable to speak peaceably to (our) own brother; finally, that no strife may ever be heard of again, but this, who shall hate strife most, who shall pursue peace and unity with swiftest paces."

I remain,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient and faithful Servant,

Samuel Horsey.

[No. III.]

Butley Priory, Woodbridge,
July 11th, 1851.

My Lord,

When I read the Introduction to your Declaration on Baptism, and found your Lordship and the Clergy assembled with you, stating, that you received that "great Article of the faith 'one baptism for the remission of sins,' as it is authoritatively set forth in the Nicene Creed by the Second Œcumenical Council, has since been held by the Catholic Church in all ages, and is taught unequivocally in our own Church;" and that the Declaration was made in the hope "that many who are now divided from us may be brought to agreement by thus knowing the real meaning and extent of the doctrine which we hold;" I began to hope that, after all, there might not be so material a difference between you and the evangelical party as had been represented. But this hope, I regret to say, was

at an end as soon as I had perused the document. It is now, indeed, too manifest that there never can be peace between the two parties, and that one or the other ought to leave the Church of England. If your views are, as you assert, "unequivocally taught by our own Church," there can be no question that the Simeons, and Scotts, and Venns, and Cecils, and Romaines, and thousands of other clergymen, ought never to have ministered in our National Church, and that, of course, those who hold similar opinions at present are bound to secede from it. But if, on the contrary, it can be shewn that our Church plainly repudiates, instead of "unequivocally teaching," the doctrine which you hold, then are you and the eighty clergymen who have assented, and all others who do assent, to this Declaration, in a position which common honesty requires you to abandon. Which party then is in the right? If bold assumption, rash assertion, and unblushing sophistry are to determine the question, it will doubtless be in favour of your Lordship's party; but if the Catechism, Articles, and Liturgy of our Church, together with the Scriptures, interpreted according to reason and common sense, be the standard of appeal, a very different result may be expected. And this is the standard to which your Lordship's sentiments, as embodied in the "Declaration," must and will be brought. The laity, no less than the clergy, are bound to examine and try the doctrine which you have now unequivocally propounded; and it will be no difficult matter for them to ascertain whether it be, or be not, agreeable to the teaching of the Church of England. Your doctrine is, if I rightly understand the first part of the "Declara-

tion," that infants always, and adults "who truly repent and unfeignedly believe the Gospel," are, at the time of baptism, born again or made new creatures in Christ Jesus. I can see no other meaning in it; and this is in accordance with a statement you made twelve years ago, but which I had hoped you had seen reason to modify—I allude to that part of your charge to the clergy, in 1839, where you say, "Our Church maintains that always to infants, and to adults rightly receiving, regeneration is given in baptism, and, so far as man is authorized to pronounce, in baptism only." Now, my Lord, it can be easily shewn that our Church maintains no such doctrine. As infants and duly-qualified adults are put by your Lordship in the same category, you will, of course, allow that no greater privileges are conferred on infants in and by baptism than on "adults with fit qualifications." If, then, it can be shewn that the latter are not regenerated in and at the sacrament of baptism, you will acknowledge that the former are not. But it can be proved that "adults with fit qualifications," i. e. "who truly repent and unfeignedly believe," are not regenerated at the time, or by the administration of baptism. For such adults have already received "the grace of Christ and the inspiration of his Spirit," or else they could not "truly repent and unfeignedly believe." (Compare the 10th and 13th Articles of our Church.) But if they repent and believe, before they are baptized with water, their sins are *already remitted*, (Mark i. 4; Luke xxiv. 47; Acts x. 43; Rom. iii. 25, 26) and they are born of God, *before they are baptized with water*, for they have faith in Jesus Christ (1 John v. 1.) They are *already the sons*

of God. (John i. 12, 13; Rom. viii. 14; Gal. iii. 26.) The ordinance of baptism, then, is to "adults with fit qualifications," not the "new birth unto righteousness" nor the means of receiving that new birth, but a *sign* and a *seal* to testify that they have already received the inward spiritual grace. Unless your Lordship, therefore, will maintain, that infant baptism is different from adult baptism, contrary to our Church, which uses the same expressions in both her Offices for baptism, you must allow that the inward spiritual grace—"a death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness"—is not necessarily given with the outward sign, and, consequently, that the sacrament of baptism and regeneration are not convertible terms. "Adults with fit qualifications" are baptized, not that their sins *may* be washed away, and that they *may* be born of God, and be made members of Christ, &c., but in token that they already possess these privileges and blessings; and, consequently, they receive a baptism, even the "one baptism for the remission of sins," *before they come to the outward ordinance.*

As to adults without fit qualifications, your Lordship will allow, that when they are baptized, they do not receive the inward spiritual grace, or remission of their sins by spiritual regeneration; and yet, if they should at a future time repent and believe, they will then be regenerate—they will then have received the "one baptism for the remission of sins." In both cases, the "one baptism for the remission of sins" is clearly distinct from the outward washing. If the inward spiritual grace then be separable from the outward visible sign in the case of adults, even if they have "fit qualifica-

tions," why may it not be separable in the case of infants? Where is it stated in Scripture, or by our Church, that it is separable in one case and not in the other? Our Church, as I have already observed, makes no distinction. She declares both adults and infants after baptism to be regenerate, because they have both made a profession of repentance and faith; the former by their own mouths, the latter by their sureties. It can be only a charitable declaration in both cases; and it must be determined by their future conduct (for it is by that alone that man can judge) whether they have or have not received the "one baptism for the remission of sins," as well as the outward ordinance.

Had not your Lordship unfortunately overlooked this distinction between the outward sign and the inward grace—baptism by water and the "one baptism for the remission of sins"—your Declaration would have been so expressed as that every member of our Church might have adopted it. But having apparently forgotten what St. Augustine says, that "sacraments for the most part receive the self-same names of the things they signify," you have ascribed to baptism by water those great and inestimable privileges which Scripture confines to the baptism with the Holy Ghost, as our Church, following Scripture, likewise teaches in her Catechism, Articles, and Formularies. The very expressions which you have used in this "Declaration" might have shewn you, that a higher baptism than that by water was referred to by the apostles, when they wrote the passages quoted by your Lordship:—"By one *spirit* we are all baptized into one body." *We are all*—who? All who are baptized by water? Certainly not: for even your Lordship

will hardly venture to say that all who received outward baptism had fit qualifications—the *We* is therefore limited to those who repented and believed because they had been baptized by the spirit, i. e. they had received the "one baptism for the remission of sins." We who are *thus* "baptized unto Him"—not by water but by the spirit—are indeed "dead with Him"—"dead unto sin"—"buried by baptism with Him, wherein also we are risen with Him"—"quickened together with Him"—"set together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus," and "our life is hid with Christ in God." We believe that the Holy Ghost so joins us in baptism (i. e. the baptism of the Spirit) that we are "in Him"—"created in Christ Jesus," and hence we are children of God in Him; and "if children, then heirs, heirs of God and joint-heirs with Christ."

Can your Lordship seriously affirm this of all who have been baptized in infancy? Your theory of the inseparability of the inward grace from the outward sign in the case of infants and "adults with fit qualifications," requires you to maintain this. But it will not bear examination. It was not the outward sign, circumcision, under the Old Law which made Israelites the children of God and inheritors of his kingdom, but "the true circumcision of the Spirit;" and the same may be said of that which has superseded circumcision. "For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature." (Gal. vi. 15.) "Baptism doth also now save us (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God) by the resurrection of Jesus Christ." (1 Peter iii. 21.) If the

sacrament of baptism effected always in infants and "in adults with fit qualifications" the great things which your Lordship attributes to it, it would avail to the salvation of the soul: but St. Peter declares, that it is not "the putting away the filth of the flesh," or outward baptism, which saves, but "the answer of a good conscience towards God;" which "answer" cannot be made until the baptism of the Spirit has been received. Till then we have no "qualifications" which make us "meet to receive grace, or (as the school authors say) deserve grace of congruity." (Article XIII.)

I remain,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Obedient and faithful Servant,

Samuel Hobson.

Finis.

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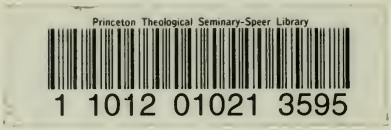
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